# New Republic

FEBRUARY 7, 1949


- **STEEL: STUCK IN AN OLD RUT** By NORMAN GRIESER
- **KARL MARX PASSED EBOLI** By GINO BARDI
- **EARTHQUAKE SIGNS IN TURKEY** By ALEXANDER KENDRICK
- **THE MEN AROUND TRUMAN** By WILLIAM WALTON
- **VYSHINSKY'S SOVIET LAW** REVIEWED by JAMES R. NEWMAN

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# 10 MEMBERS OF CONGRESS BRIGHTEN THE EDITOR'S DAY

1. As a short, easily grasped explanation of what the liberals will try to accomplish in 1949, I have seen nothing better than the *New Republic's* State of the Union issue. Generally, I think *New Republic* satisfies two intellectual needs in our country. The first is the obvious one of reporting on current issues with a different viewpoint from most newspapers and periodicals. The second is providing a forum of liberal thinkers.

*Hubert H. Humphrey, Senator from Minnesota*

2. *New Republic* . . . has carried its influence far beyond its immediate circle of readers. On many occasions, the *New Republic* has quickened the public conscience and taken the lead in calling attention to manifest injustices in our social and economic life. This constitutes public service in its highest and best sense.

*Brien McMahon, Senator from Connecticut*

3. Throughout the many years in which I have been in the Senate, I have found your articles a most informative source . . . include all of the really major issues.

*James E. Murray, Senator from Montana*

4. *New Republic*, once again, has placed before the American people in a most understandable manner, the great issues with which the 81st Congress will be confronted and the course of action which liberals from one end of the country to the other hope will be followed in order that our goals may be achieved.

*Sidney R. Yates, Congressman from Illinois*

5. *New Republic* means a lot to me in that it has clarified some of the vital issues. . . . It expresses to me the sentiment of the average American and I find it contains information which is easy to read, understandable and to the point.

*James F. Lind, Congressman from Pennsylvania*

6. Very interesting and informative. . . . I have always appreciated your fight for the common man. *John McSweeney, Congressman from Ohio*

7. *New Republic* amidst so many hard shelled conservative and reactionary American papers and periodicals, is as refreshing as a cool breeze in the heat of summer. It is a weekly comfort. I have been a subscriber since its first issue and find it becoming increasingly useful in my work as Congressman—a liberal Congressman. . . . The *New Republic* shall be my aid and sort of Baedecker in my legislative journey through the 81st Congress.

*Emanuel Celler, Congressman from New York*

8. I have read your special section of the *New Republic* entitled "Program for Liberal America." . . . No true American who believes in the ideals of our form of government can do other than support the program.

*William L. Dawson, Congressman from Illinois*

9. One of the great values of *New Republic* is its restraint, its freedom from dogma, its willingness to judge men and events on their own merits, and to abide by the results of democratic processes to achieve those goals of human right and freedoms to which we aspire. In my own thinking, I rely upon *New Republic* to temper and measure my own judgments and opinions.

*Arthur G. Klein, Congressman from New York*

10. Having been a reader of the *New Republic* for the past twenty years, I can say that this fine publication has contributed greatly to the liberal movement in the United States. It has helped to educate many of our Congressmen past and present . . . depend upon me to do everything in my power to help the *New Republic* reach thousands of more readers. I know that in so doing I would be contributing something for the good of our country.

*Harry J. Davenport, Congressman from Pennsylvania*

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New Republic

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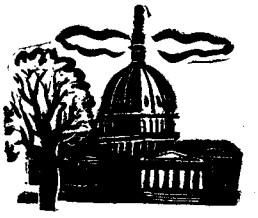
# WASHINGTON WIRE

WE GOT TO MUSING the other day about what an incubus the almost 100-percent conservative American press is to the Republican Party which it supports. It was in connection with the sad demise of the gallant New York *PM-Star,* the only paper in New York which backed President Truman in the past campaign. For five straight presidential elections now, the majority of the press has told its readers to vote conservative, and the readers have contemptuously done just the opposite. With the fancy new opinion polls, the papers even succeeded in fooling themselves and everyone else (including us) on who would win the last election.



What a burden this is for the GOP! How can it keep in touch with reality? The same process is now under way again. The press naturally gravitates to the position of its advertisers, the property-holders; and underrates the strength and importance of American liberalism because the latter has so few outlets.

**Governor Dewey's** soapy supplications for "unity" of the last campaign weren't in evidence at Omaha last week, where the GOP National Committee met in a two-day meteorological and parliamentary blizzard. The theme song of the meeting was "Where Do We Go from Here?" The process of self-deception was again clearly visible.

The membership of this committee is awe-inspiring. It is composed of the Best People. There isn't a name that suggests that there has been immigration to America since 1848. This formidable group almost succeeded in making Hugh Scott, who kept the chairmanship by a four-vote squeak, look like a liberal. There was no admission that the record of the 80th Congress hung like a millstone from Dewey's neck; the alibi was that Dewey "didn't fight hard enough." The Old Guard, the Louis XVI political illiterates who have learned nothing and forgotten nothing, is still typical. All they know is what they read in the (GOP) papers.

**Our new slogan** is "a sixty-cent dollar by Christmas!" Last August, the dollar bought 57 cents' worth of goods in terms of 1939 dollars; now it is worth 58 cents. We have gained a cent on every dollar. This drop in living costs is a good thing if it can be controlled. If it goes on at this rate, the government brakes will soon begin to smoke. It's funny to note the editorial excitement over the brief three-month decline compared to the reticence about leaping prices after the OPA was killed.

Just for comparison, we had a "75-cent dollar" in June, 1946, the last month of government price controls, and might well have had something close to it today if the political line had been held. Put another way, a factory worker's average $54.47 weekly earnings last November were worth $31.44 in 1939 dollars, or $30.85 after taxes if the worker had three dependents. Congress gave the worker a slight cut in taxes. Corporations have gained far more proportionately in tax cuts since the war.

**Congressional committees** are getting up steam. Senator Kilgore (D, W. Va.) is looking into lobbying. Three former Senators and 10 former Representatives are now listed as paid lobbyists. Ex-Representative Disney (D, Okla.), who is typical, now has 13 clients—two oil and gas groups which jointly give him about $22,000, and a series of smaller companies which raise his annual pay to around $44,000. What a big shot he must seem to freshmen members who would like to earn that much!

A joint congressional investigation

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of life-insurance investment is also starting under Representative Celler (D, N. Y.). Life-insurance companies control the biggest hunk of capital in the nation and they are not under federal regulation. The old TNEC inquiry, before the war, decided that state control might be adequate if it were tightened up. Of late years many experts have begun to feel that national fiscal policies cannot be effective with such a big slice of private investment money outside of them.

**Congress runs along** true to form. It hasn't done anything about the vicious seniority system in picking committee chairmen. One result is that Representative Rankin, as head of the House Veterans' Committee, will lead the drive for the great new veterans'-bonus bill. We hope to be agreeably surprised, but we doubt if the Senate really does anything to limit filibusters. New committee chairmen show a disposition to replace with political appointees the professional staff assistants set up under the La Follette-Monroney streamlining bill. Octogenarian "Muley" Doughton (D, N. C.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, in firing the whole technical staff of that vital committee (except one Democrat), said he was just too old to adapt himself to reform.

**Notes.** A million pounds of pepper (a-chew!) are being accumulated in the grandiose $4 billion defense stockpiling program of the Munitions Board. . . . Bob Taft frankly admits he's fighting for his political life in Ohio, where he's up for reëlection in '50. . . . Truman's request in the Taft-Hartley repeal bill for new powers to deal with strikes in "vital industries" is, of course, directed at John L. Lewis. . . . Some executive agencies started to lobby against the Hoover consolidation bill well before it was presented. . . . Before the election, House Republicans called the Taft housing bill for 500,000 public units in six years "socialistic"; a 10-man GOP House group now urges 800,000 units. The Administration goal: 1,050,000 in seven years.

*Washington* T. R. B.

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VOLUME 120, NUMBER 6, ISSUE 1784, NEW YORK CITY, FEBRUARY 7, 1949 **New Republic**

# THE COMMUNIST TRIAL

THE UNITED STATES and its allies, one of whom had been Russia, had defeated Germany and her allies; but it was an uneasy peace. The Western world was afraid of what radical Russia might do; and a wave of reaction spread over the United States.

In March, 1919 (for this was the First World War, not the Second), the United States Supreme Court upheld the conviction of Eugene V. Debs, the famous, well-loved Socialist leader who had been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for making a speech.

Victor Berger, another Socialist, from Milwaukee, was convicted, on the flimsiest possible evidence, of "sedition and disloyalty" under the Espionage Act, and Congress subsequently refused to let him take his seat as a member.

A number of the states, notably California, passed anti-syndicalism laws which held that mere membership in an organization advocating violent revolution was a criminal offense, and several people were sent to jail for long terms on that basis.

On May Day, 1919, 400 soldiers, sailors and marines invaded the office of the New York *Call*, then as now a moderate Socialist paper, beat up the editors and smashed office equipment.

On January 7, 1920, five Socialists duly elected to the New York State Assembly were debarred from that body on the ground that they could not loyally support the Constitution.

Everyone today is ashamed of the antics of 30 years ago. The open question is whether, in the grip of another postwar hysteria, we are not again doing things which in another 30 years will seem as unjustified.

That it is possible for liberals to have an honest difference of opinion on this matter is shown by the debate between Morris Ernst and Roger Baldwin in last week's issue. Ernst believes that it is legitimate to apply the sedition clauses of the Smith Act to secret activities of the Communists looking toward an illegal end. Baldwin holds that the familiar doctrine of Justice Holmes is still valid, that we must not tamper with free speech unless there is clear and present danger of crime. In reality, Ernst and Baldwin disagree less on moral issues than they do on facts; and here, it seems to us, Baldwin has the better of the argument. For the indictment charges only that the Communists have conspired to "teach and advocate" "the Marxist-Leninist principles of the overthrow and destruction of the government of the United States by force and violence."

This law was enacted in 1940, at a time when Germany and Russia were still allies and the United States was moving toward participation on the other side. Communists in this country were using all their resources to keep the United States out, and to interfere with the flow of military supplies to Great Britain and her allies. But by a strange quirk, the law was not at that time applied against the Communists. The first test was against the Minnesota Trotskyites, who hated the existing Russian government as bitterly as does any member of the National Republican Club. The Communists at that time lifted no finger to attack the law which they now find so monstrous. The second application came with the trial of the alleged Nazi sympathizers in the District of Columbia, which was dropped after the death of the trial judge and constitutes the most shocking fiasco in the recent history of the Department of Justice. Most liberals opposed both these actions and attacked the law on the grounds ably set forth by Roger Baldwin in his statement in last week's issue. They argued that anybody should be entitled to say what he pleases as long as his words do not lead directly to illegal action.

**Communists** in the US today do constitute a threat to democracy, which was not true of the Socialists, Syndicalists and other left-wing groups 30 years ago. The Russian government, if no more determined on world revolution now than it was then, is enormously stronger and far better able to carry out, or to attempt to carry out, its plans. It controls the loyalty of a certain number of Americans with a completeness which other Americans are only now beginning to realize. We

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agree with Roger Baldwin that if the Communists have violated the law requiring registration of foreign agents, they should be indicted under that law. But it is unwise public policy to try them for merely espousing their principles. The answer to Communist propaganda is not suppression; it is a country which will be immune to Communist propaganda because it not only preaches but practises democracy.

# THE WEEK

## THE TIME TO REFORM

Perhaps the most constructive action the Truman Administration can take in the next month is to precipitate a filibuster in the Senate. The archaic rules under which our Senate operates cast a threatening shadow over the whole proposed Fair Deal program, particularly the civil-rights legislation. The only adequate remedy is revision of the present cloture rule to permit a simple majority of the Senate to limit debate on any measure after a reasonable time. The die-hard Southerners will fight such a reform with the last gasp allowed them under existing rules. It will be necessary to break one last filibuster in the 81st Congress in order to break the power of filibuster for the future. Perhaps the best time for the showdown is now, while the Senate calendar is still uncrowded.

Soon after the first Senate was organized in 1789, it became clear that the rules to control unreasonable debate were inadequate. Before the Senate was half a year old, Senator William Maclay of Pennsylvania was warning his colleagues that, "In plain language . . . the confidence of the people is departing from us owing to our unreasonable delays. The design of the Virginians and of the South Carolina gentlemen was to talk away the time." One hundred and twenty-eight years later, when President Woodrow Wilson sent up a bill to arm our merchant ships against attack during the First World War, the filibuster had been so perfected that the bill was blocked even though 75 of 96 members published a petition in the *Congressional Record* declaring their support for the measure. "A little group of willful men" could, within the law, run the Senate of the United States.

On the strength of this disgraceful episode, Wilson was able to force through the inadequate cloture rule of 1917 under which, 32 years later, the Senate still operates. It provided that a motion to close debate could be brought on petition of 16 Senators and could pass on a two-thirds vote of the members. Scarcely two years later, a successful filibuster was carried on in spite of it. In five years' time, Southern Senators were obstructing the legislative process, for regional reasons, with almost as much ease as they had before. Only in four out of 19 attempts since 1917 has cloture been successfully invoked.

**Five major bills** aimed at revising the present cloture rule are now before the Senate. Three of them are restricted to minor revisions of the present two-thirds provision. Only two, those sponsored by Senators Morse (R, Ore.) and Myers (D, Penn.) specify that debate shall be closed by a simple majority vote, as regularly required on other matters. The Senate Rules Committee has conducted hearings on all these proposals and is preparing to report out an entirely inadequate cloture-reform bill, bearing the name of Rules Committee Chairman Hayden (D, Ariz.).

ROBERT JOYCE

The only member of the Senate who has maintained a firm and resolute position in favor of cloture by a simple majority vote is Wayne Morse. There is considerable suspicion, among liberal observers, that Senator Myers, the Democratic Whip, introduced his bill for majority cloture merely as an Administration gesture, to keep up with the Republicans, at least on the record. Neither Myers nor any other Democrat except Claude Pepper appeared before the Rules Committee on the cloture question.

Those Senators who are willing to go no further than extending the present two-thirds cloture rule to all matters before the Senate, not just to a specific bill (which was the problem in last year's anti-poll-tax filibuster) argue that (1) there must be no invasion of the right of full debate and (2) a majority cloture bill could not be passed in this Congress anyway.

To the second point, Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other public leaders who have devoted years to the study of this question, answer that this is giving up before the battle starts. Regardless of the outcome, the moral course for this administration is clear. Democratic platform pledges cannot be kept through the present undemocratic Senate machinery. An Administration bill for a majority cloture rule should be brought to a vote as quickly as possible and, for the record, both Democrats and Republicans should stand up and be counted.

Practically speaking, the next three weeks provide an excellent oppor-

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tunity for thrashing out this basic question. Private estimates on Capitol Hill are that the Taft-Hartley-repeal legislation can hardly reach the Senate floor before March 1. Housing is in such a snarl that new hearings, and consequent delay, appear inevitable. The Banking Committee is far from ready to report out a price-control measure. Congressional experts say that a determined majority could force a showdown on democratizing Senate procedure, break the resulting filibuster through continuous sessions and sharp application of the rules concerning relevancy of debate, and complete action on a new cloture bill in three to four weeks. Such a drive's chances for success are much greater now than they will be at the end of this session.

Until the rules are changed "the blame for obstruction," as the elder Henry Cabot Lodge once said, "rests with the *majority,* and if there is obstruction, it is because the majority permits it. Of the two rights of debating and voting, that of voting is the higher and more important. We ought to have both . . . but if we are forced to choose between them, the right of action must prevail over the right of discussion. To vote without debating is perilous, but to debate and never vote is imbecile."

## THE GOP AT OMAHA

*OMAHA (NR correspondent)*

Governor Thomas E. Dewey, the two-time loser, was all but kicked out of the party by the Republican National Committee at its first post-election session last week. His hand-picked national chairman, Representative Hugh D. Scott Jr. (Penn.), barely managed to retain that office, and then only after he had repeatedly denied his maker. In addition, Chairman Scott, who got his office last June in partial payment for decisive convention support given Dewey by Pennsylvania's Grundy machine, had to unstack the executive committee which he had loaded with Dewey adherents. The fear was publicly expressed that those Dewey adherents might use their positions in an effort to make the party's 1944 and 1948 presidential nominee the William Jennings Bryan of the GOP.

Scott held onto his office by the narrow margin of 54 to 50. Inasmuch as the chairman is Dewey's man, his retention of office, even by that narrow majority, might be construed as a Dewey victory. But it was a hollow one at best.

**The committee's** three-day session was devoted almost entirely to the attempt to oust Scott. Instead of soberly examining the causes of the November debacle, and charting the party's future course, the committee, angry and sullen, spent much of its time in heaping invective upon the presidential nominee whose "bungling ineptitude," as one member characterized Dewey's campaign conduct, cost the party the White House after sixteen lean, long years.

The fight against Scott was not ideological. Having lost an election which most of them had thought was in the bag, the committeemen wanted to punish someone. Even long-time Dewey supporters who, for one reason or another, strung along with Scott, made little defense of the party's presidential nominee.

The opposition, consisting mainly of supporters of Senator Robert A. Taft and Harold E. Stassen, would have taken control of party machinery had Scott lost out. That was sufficient to unite most Dewey supporters behind Scott, even those no longer enamored of New York's Governor.

Iowa's Harrison Spangler, Illinois' Werner W. Schroeder, Ohio's Clarence Brown and Tennessee's Carroll Reece, all Taft men, together with such lesser lights as Indiana's Ralph Gates and Texas' R. B. Creager, spearheaded the opposition to Scott and Dewey. They were aided and abetted by such Stassen stalwarts as Oregon's Ralph Cake and Minnesota's Roy E. Dunn. A few—very few—Dewey supporters, wearied of following the New Yorker to successive presidential defeats, joined in the movement. In fact one of them—Maryland's Jacob France—was employed, for strategic reasons, in the role of chief prosecutor.

So bitter were the arguments, and so evenly matched were the two camps, that some persons, concerned over the party's future as a result of five national defeats in a row, suggested that the Omaha wrangle was the final crackup. Hotel-lobby quipsters said the GOP had come to Omaha to give its business to Senator Kenneth Wherry, a licensed mortician. Others had it that the GOP, having originated in the controversy over the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, was behaving like the salmon, which returns to its native streams as its life span runs out.

The significance of the Omaha meeting is difficult to judge. Dewey's leadership was challenged, perhaps successfully. Still, that means little unless the New Yorker has 1952 aspirations, which he has disclaimed. The committee was concerned primarily with power politics. The campaign having ended in failure, some members saw in disaster an opportunity to gain control of the party's machinery, and set out to do so. It is likely that the Omaha gathering will be forgotten in the record that Republican congressmen make during the next few years. It did demonstrate, however, that the GOP is still a badly divided party; that Dewey, in defeat, has lost much of his glamor; and that professional politicians are interested only in a winner.

## FAREWELL, PM

In the beginning there was Ralph Ingersoll and an idea. From then, in June, 1940, until June 23, 1948, when it became the *Star,* there were many other things about *PM,* phases, changes, men and ideas, good and bad. But always most important was the idea.

Ingersoll phrased it badly when he said, "We are against people who push other people around." More precisely his inspiration was to publish a newspaper which put people and their interests ahead of property. The idea was a warm and noble one. What happened to the paper which died last week was, in the end, sad. But before

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it got sad, *PM* was exciting and important and fun.

Already it is hard to remember the exhilaration of those first months of a newspaper put together in a converted Brooklyn garage by a heterogeneous staff recruited from all points of the political compass. Better pictures than any daily newspaper had ever printed, sketches by great artists, off-beat news stories, crusades, slashing editorials, stories instead of ads about the food and clothing and other commodities that people buy. *PM* had them all, as well as the best-quality ink, type and paper a daily had ever used.

The whole world read the paper, carped and praised, discussed and cussed. Everybody couldn't be pleased. But they read it from Ingersoll's editorials to Cecelia Ager's acid movie reviews and the weekly picture history of an "average baby" named Lois. The first crusade, one to clean up New York poultry markets, was in retrospect slightly ridiculous with its ghastly photographs of sick chickens. But when *PM* trumpeted against Father Coughlin's demagoguery, the Department of Justice was deluged with 35,000 letters demanding that the radio priest be barred from the air.

If any one series could be singled out as the most memorable, it probably would be the blitz-time reporting of Ben Robertson. In vivid, emotional cables Robertson, who later was killed in a Lisbon plane crash, caught the courage of London's everyday people fighting bombs at night and picking up the threads of life among the ruins next day.

**Nothing like** the original *PM* staff has ever been seen on land or sea. It was seen in all its peculiar glory only on Brooklyn's sleazy Dean Street, where the office rent was lower and the corner saloon was run by a rather flabbergasted Irishman. There was Martin Clary, a police reporter who sported a pince-nez on a black ribbon. Margaret Bourke-White, a touch of blue in her graying hair, took pictures wearing slacks of sensational cut. The cookery editor, Charlotte Adams, came to work on hot days in a gingham play-suit. For a while Huntington Hartford, heir to the A&P chain-store millions, aspired to a reportorial career and drove the accounting department crazy by never cashing his meager paychecks. There were such diverse characters as Carl Randau, Jimmy Wechsler, Tom O'Connor, Hannah Baker and Louis Kronenberger, the latter authoring lofty theatrical reviews for *PM* at the same time he ground out anonymous paragraphs on the same plays for *Time* magazine.

WHAT AM I DOING IN THIS POSITION ANYHOW?

One of the world's best police photographers, who bears the improbable name of Weegee, took lurid pictures which were later to go into his best-seller, *The Naked City*. Mary Morris turned her lens on Lois, "the average baby," and Lillian, the pretty Brooklyn waitress portrayed weekly as "the average girl."

There was a wispy fellow named Len Engel, whose job it was to polish a column written by a retired Army officer under the pseudonym of "The General." In time there was more of Engel than there was of "The General" in the column, and, though he had no first-hand experience of war, Engel became the very model of a military strategist.

And many others—Don Hollenbeck, now conducting "CBS Views the Press"; Wes Price, who went on the *Saturday Evening Post*; Tabitha Petran; Bob Neville; Weldon James; Victor Bernstein; Alex Uhl; and Izzy Stone. Ingersoll toured England before we got into the war and burned up the cables with hot reporting. Ernest Hemingway sent a moving series from China. Jimmy Cannon wrote about life as it really was in Fort Dix. Max Werner and Max Lerner wrote on more learned subjects.

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The great thing for all working newspapermen was that here, at last, was a publication passionately eager for new ideas. Anybody who suggested an idea, even in the saloon across the street, might see it in print next day. Some were god-awful. But some were awful good. One of the very best was Ed Scott's disguising himself as a salvage worker, getting a job inside the burned-out hulk of the *Normandie* and coming out with really inside dope on the possibilities of sabotage.

**Park Avenue** never cared much for *PM*. Senator Bilbo and Representative Rankin denounced it regularly for its liberalism. But in Brooklyn, the Bronx and other parts of New York, where people understood all too well what it was like to be pushed around, *PM* became a trusted friend telling news the more august publications did not deem fit to print.

After Pearl Harbor *PM* began to change. Many of the staff went off to war, among them Ingersoll. Others drifted to new, better-paying jobs. When the war was over Ingersoll came back but he didn't seem to have his old touch. Perhaps the world had changed, too.

Ingersoll retired to write one of the best war books (*Top Secret*) and a novel, *The Great One*. The editorship fell to John P. Lewis, once of the Buffalo *Evening News*.

Long before this the original capital, subscribed by about a dozen investors, had been exhausted and Marshall Field had taken over the financing which was eventually to cost him many millions, a generous gesture due an equal admiration.

What made *PM* fail—the infiltration of mediocrity, the exhaustion of ideas, unsteady political principles—is a subject that will interest historians of journalism for a long time. But to the newspapermen who knew the halcyon Dean Street days the passing of *PM* is a time for growing as fondly reminiscent as are the veterans of the old New York *World*, which also came to an untimely end.

W. W.

# OUTSIDE AMERICA

**China's Mao Tse-tung** was the hero, Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito the villain, at a Communist congress in Sofia in December. Nominally, the meeting was of the Bulgarian Workers Party. In reality, the presence of a large number of Communist chiefs from all over the world made it the most important gathering of the Kremlin clan since the one in Poland at which the Cominform was created. The principal speaker was Bulgaria's Georgi Dimitrov, the Communist Number Two man since Tito's decline and fall; and he made two statements on behalf of the Politburo.

He said Communist victories in China had tipped the scales against the US and Britain in the East-West struggle for world supremacy. He also said that the next Kremlin "line" would stress internationalism and condemn nationalism of the Tito or any other variety.

At the time, the connection between the two wasn't plain. Recent events have made it clearer.

Three weeks after Dimitrov spoke, France's veteran Communist Marcel Cachin told the French National Assembly that war between the East and West wasn't inevitable. Victor Michaut of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party wrote:

> The peaceful co-existence of socialism and capitalism is possible. . . . At no time has Lenin or Stalin seen war as a means of fructifying humanity or of hastening the victory of socialism. . . . From the Soviet viewpoint there exists no reason of principle for excluding the possibility of coöperation with the capitalist states. On the contrary, this coöperation is judged useful and desirable in the interest of the people and in the interest of peace.

A few days later, Arnost Heidrich, former secretary of the Czechoslovak Foreign Office who had escaped to Washington, expressed the opinion that recent Soviet activities in his country had been defensive rather than aggressive. The Soviets, he said, were developing his country "as a source of military supplies and as a strategic territory that must be denied to the Western Powers rather than as a base for attack on the West."

On January 15, Cachin arrived in Italy and began making speeches full of references to the possibility—indeed the desirability and necessity—of East-West peace. The next day, in Rome, Italy's Palmiro Togliatti chimed in, saying:

> We are profoundly convinced that within this generation socialism will win, at least in all European countries. But it will win by peaceful methods. There is not and never has been in the Soviet Union any leader who followed Lenin's and Stalin's line and upheld the theory of revolutionary war. Socialism and peace are causes that cannot be divided.

Germany's Max Reimann went along; he predicted that barriers between the Western and Eastern occupation zones in Germany might come down "unexpectedly" in the near future. There was no reason, he said, why the West and East couldn't get along.

England's Harry Pollitt sent out "a political letter" to all CP members in which he, too, stressed the internationalist note. To bring Britain closer to "coöperation" with countries not "tied . . . hand and foot in a war alliance with US imperialism," he said the major British Communist aim must be to create "objective possibilities" for an alternative government which "must necessarily include representatives of the Communist Party." He called for a "united front" of the Communists with the Labor Party's "Political Left."

At the Paris conference of the executive committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Soviet's V. V. Kuznetsov fought hard to get the British TUC representatives and the

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US CIO men to decide against bolting from the WFTU. Such a split, he argued, "would seriously prejudice the cause of international trade unionism."

The Manchester *Guardian* pointed out that while this new "Western line" of internationalism at any cost was being fostered, the "line" in the Communist-dominated countries of the East was still "consolidation — the complete crushing of all opposition, whether it be the churches or the socialists or the peasants, and the economic destruction of the middle classes. . . ."

In Washington on January 18, the Soviet Embassy's Information Bulletin published an article which said, "There are no barriers to the good will of peoples aspiring toward a common aim."

On January 25, the Soviets brought out a refurbished version of the old Molotov Plan—the still-born economic scheme that had been touted in Moscow in the early days of the Marshall Plan as a counterweight to the US effort to put Western Europe on its economic feet. This new version was called the Council of Mutual Economic Aid. Its purpose was international—to organize "broader economic coöperation among the countries of the people's democracy and the USSR."

The official explanation contained the usual transparent double-talk: the new Soviet economic internationalism was necessary because Western nations were "boycotting trade relations" with Soviet satellites which wouldn't "submit to the Marshall Plan dictate, as this plan violated the sovereignties of countries and the interests of their national economies." A simpler and more convincing explanation was that the Soviets were leading from weakness rather than strength, in the economic sphere at least. They had tried and failed to block the Marshall Plan. Now it was beginning to hurt them, and they were giving it the sincerest form of flattery—imitation.

Naturally, Yugoslavia was left out of the new Soviet economic internationalism. What wasn't quite so natural was the fact that in the next few days the Czechoslovak press and government spokesmen "preserved," according to the Associated Press, "a curious silence on the formation of the Council." Nor was it clear why a Czechoslovak trade delegate left on January 28 for Belgrade for new talks about a trade pact with Tito, the current villain of the Politburo. But there were rumors in Prague that Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Y. Vyshinsky was in the Czech capital on a mission connected with still other rumors that Czech Premier Klement Gottwald "had been veering into deviationist ways" not very different from Tito's.

**If there was** even a little truth in such rumors, it might mean that the weakness from which the Soviets were leading had a political aspect. The next day things began to happen fast. From Prague, the Associated Press reported that Vyshinsky was in a Soviet Army sanatorium at Karlsbad "gravely ill from a nervous disorder." An attendant said, "Mr. Vyshinsky cannot be seen by anyone. He is unable to concentrate on anything." No one could tell whether the sudden nervous breakdown was politicogenic, but the news from Moscow and elsewhere made plain that the men in the Kremlin *were* concentrating.

The Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a 34-page statement in which the "ruling circles" of the US, Britain and France were accused of developing an internationalism of which the "final purpose" was the "establishment by force of Anglo-American world domination." The Brussels Pact was called a step on "the road of preparing for new aggression in Europe," the Western Union "a military-political complement" to the Marshall Plan; both of these and the projected North Atlantic pact were said to be part of a "plot" that was "undermining and wrecking the UN."

On the same day, the Soviet Ambassador in Oslo called upon the Norwegian Government to answer some questions in a *démarche* that had the tough, harsh bluntness of an old-fashioned ultimatum from a great to a little power. Was Norway going to join the North Atlantic pact; was it "undertaking any obligations . . . in respect to creation of air force or naval bases on the territory of Norway?" The North Atlantic pact was "a grouping of powers that pursue aggressive aims."

The next day, however, there came from the Kremlin a message not for a little country but for the greatest power on earth; and there was nothing harsh about the language. Marshal Stalin said the Soviet Union would be "prepared to consider" the issuance of a joint declaration with the US that neither country would use war as a means of settling the differences between them. He had "no objection" to a meeting with President Truman to discuss "a pact of peace." He was also prepared to discuss the lifting of the Berlin blockade.

**Obviously this** was the climax of the Soviet "peace offensive." No cheers came from the White House or Number 10 Downing Street, but some of the "experts" pounced now on an obvious (to them) explanation of the train of events since Dimitrov spoke at Sofia: the men in the Kremlin, they said, are leading not only from weakness but from fear of the West's military moves; hence the new Soviet internationalism is revealed as a defensive retreat.

But, as "Historicus" pointed out in a recent issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Stalin has on a number of past occasions used a foreign correspondent's questions to make a startling statement of an apparent change in major policy; and in every case not much more was really changed than the tempo of the Kremlin's unrelenting drive to achieve its real objectives. And the theory of weakness-cum-fear throws little light on the real objectives behind the series of conciliatory bids culminating in the

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mixture of bluff in Paris and Rome, bluster in Oslo and begging in Moscow. The connection between Dimitrov's two statements in Sofia—one hailing the Chinese hero, the other damning the Balkan villain—provides now more than ever the best hint.

The next world task of the Kremlin is to exploit Mao's Chinese victory, and it's a truly gigantic task. To carry it out, Stalin will need all his political skill and economic strength. While a Communist China is being organized, he will need a breathing spell in Europe; he has to have peace and quiet on the Western front. He won't be able to afford any more Titoism. And since the West's "aggressive" internationalism—economically in ECA; politically in the Brussels pact and Western Union; and militarily in the North Atlantic pact—is finding the weak spots behind the Iron Curtain, Stalin may want to make what amounts to a temporary deal. There's an ebb and flow in Soviet policy; and because Communism is now flowing abundantly in China, the Kremlin may be willing to let it ebb for a while in the West. This is the kind of "realism" which guided Lenin at the time of Brest-Litovsk and the New Economic Policy.

**Yet, not even realism** (added to weakness and fear) provides the full explanation. It happens that Stalin is far more vain, far more "personal" in politics than Lenin. (Consider his attitude toward Trotsky.) The personal aspects of Tito's nationalist challenge mean much to him, perhaps frighten him more (if there is any truth at all to the Prague rumors) than the West's internationalism. And he might be willing to pay a huge price to avoid what to him would be the greatest of all disasters: the evolution of a *nationalist* Communist China with Mao the Tito of 460 million rather than 15 million persons. Unless Stalin can hold off Western pressure in Europe long enough to give most of his attention to Asia, this *could* happen.

P. W.

# ONLY SUPERMAN COULD DO IT

*The presidency is too much for one man. Here are some of the men who help Truman carry his fearful burden*

**by William Walton**

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE view the presidency of the United States with such affection and possessiveness that they give more thought to the man than to the office itself. They are aware that some truth lies behind the superlative cliché—"the biggest job on earth." They know it is big symbolically, but not how big it is in laborious detail.

Only Superman could completely fill the presidency of the United States with its manifold duties and responsibilities. The President is the leader of his party, the chief ceremonial figure of his nation, the helmsman of foreign relations and national defense, and the director of a thousand other matters great and small.

In his day, George Washington supervised only nine small agencies. Truman has 69 sprawling agencies under his supervision and 170 officials who must report to him directly. It is impossible for him to give even a little time to all of these officials and agencies each week. Nor are there enough hours left for the formulation of policy, the political leadership and future planning that are the most important, though unwritten, functions of his office.

As it has evolved over the years, the presidency is an anachronism. And until such time as its functions are thoroughly reorganized—a matter that is being studied by the Hoover Commission—there is no way out of the dilemma except through the wholesale delegation of authority. Whether he is Harry Truman or Herbert Hoover, every President has found soon after taking office that the first need of a Chief Executive is for a capable staff and cabinet.

The presidency of Harry Truman is composed of many men besides his cabinet members: his assistant, John Steelman; his counsel, Clark Clifford; such White House advisers as David Niles, Charles Murphy, Phileo Nash and Charles Ross. General Bradley, General Vandenberg and Admiral Denfeld as chiefs-of-staff are part of the presidency. Rear Admiral Sidney Souers, who filters worldwide intelligence reports into the White House, is an important part. So, in another way, is the President's aide and crony, Major General Harry Vaughan. A dozen or so others share with Harry Truman the day-to-day work of being President. Collectively they will determine the greatness or failure or mere mediocrity of the Truman Administration as much as will the character of the President himself.

Instead of gathering power into his own hands when he took office April 12, 1945, Truman farmed it out in an unprecedented manner. Uncertain of himself, he leaned heavily on advisers such as Fleet Admiral William Leahy who already had been in the White House so long that the new President felt they must have a superior understanding of all the matters requiring decision. Cabinet secretaries were left to run their departments with little or no White House guidance, in conspicuous contrast to the days of FDR.

The education of Truman in the presidency has been slow, but there is evidence of progress. For instance, the way in which he has handled the latest budget indicates that he is learning how to make use of his staff. After long talks with his Council of Economic Advisers, Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, Leon H. Keyserling and John D. Clark, the President was convinced that military appropriations of more than $15 billion would gravely endanger the national economy. That was bad news for the Pentagon, which had

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ACHESON

been planning on a scale of at least $23 billion. The President privately visited the Pentagon to convince the Brass that he meant what he said and why. Then he left the hard work of apportioning the $15 billion to the director of the Budget, James Webb, who since has been designated Undersecretary of State. Though the issue may bust wide open once Congress starts hearings, the President has handled a difficult problem in an orderly manner.

**Since the men** in and near the White House are a part of the working presidency it is important to estimate the direction and the power of their pull on the President. As anyone who has watched the course of the Truman Administration knows, the men in it are a diverse lot. They range in social-political viewpoint from the hidebound toryism of Commerce Secretary Charles Sawyer to the visionary social planning of Oscar R. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator.

One measure of the direction in which these various advisers pull the President can be taken from the way they lined up on the Taft-Hartley veto, the tax veto, the civil-rights message and the anti-inflation program. Taking a conservative position on all these issues were Presidential Assistant John Steelman and Secretaries Forrestal, Snyder and Sawyer. Their advice was rejected by the President in favor of the liberal arguments advanced by Clifford, Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan, Undersecretary of Interior Oscar L. Chapman, Keyserling and Ewing.

If the White House had a table of organization like a military unit, Steelman would be called the deputy commander and Clifford would be chief-of-staff. Actually the men's own personalities and capabilities have shaped their jobs, so that Steelman, though with greater rank, has come to exert declining authority, while Clifford has grown more and more important. It was Clifford who superintended all of the fact-finding, writing and shaping of the President's State of the Union message which blueprints the Fair Deal. The message, a detailed, workmanlike exposition of the practical steps necessary for social progress, is a catalogue of Clifford's own beliefs.

Not that he alone wrote the message. Even before the election, all government departments were asked to submit ideas for the speech because the President, win or lose, must send Congress such a message before Inauguration Day. Also polled for ideas were members of the secretariat who have special areas of interest, such as Phileo Nash, who handles matters touching on civil rights; David Niles, who deals with minorities; Charles Murphy, who works on legislation. When all the ideas had been collected in Clifford's office, in the same wing of the White House with the President's, a few of the secretariat then sat down around the President's desk to discuss what general course the message should set for the nation, what subjects should be included and what each section should recommend. Present at that key first conference were Clifford; his young assistant, George Elsie; Press Secretary Charles Ross; Niles; and two other trusted aides, Charles Murphy and William Hassett, the latter an alumnus of the FDR days.

The job of writing the first draft was turned over to Elsie, a little-known junior on the staff who reached his position through training as a historian at Princeton, a wartime commission in Naval Intelligence and a term in charge of the White House map room. When Clifford was promoted from Naval Aide to counsel, he took Elsie with him.

Between the time Elsie wrote his first draft of the message and the time the President read it to a joint session of Congress, there were scores of conferences, cabinet meetings, revisions and new drafts. The cabinet discussed and gave its specific approval to the sections asking stand-by economic control powers for the President as well as the more controversial section on expanding steel capacity. The President showed a new willingness to reject the conservative advice of Snyder and Forrestal. Though he listened courteously to their views, he set his helm on the course he believes the American people—as they showed in the election—want him to steer.

DRAWINGS BY MAX BRANDEL
CLIFFORD

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Almost unnoticed, the influence of Steelman has slowly lessened. Steelman, who rose from a professorship at Alabama State College for Women to be the Reconversion Director and then move into the White House, considers himself a liberal, but his attitude in debates within the White House is conservative when the chips are down. Though a man of simple antecedents, his views are those of an unenlightened banker. He looks up worshipfully to wealth and social position.

In his favor, however, he has shown definite ability as a labor conciliator, partly because of his desire to be all things to all men. In negotiations that is often a good attitude, so Steelman has functioned best in this field. The most severe blow to his influence probably was his campaign advice to steer away from New Dealism. Now the President has given him the relatively unimportant position of directing a study of the nation's resources.

The decline of Admiral Leahy, who retired on Inauguration Day, was less abrupt though more complete. When Truman first succeeded to the presidency, Leahy held a position of unparalleled power because he carried under his gilt-encrusted cap so much inside information on what happened at Yalta, Teheran and the other international conferences he had attended with Roosevelt. Adrift and confused, Truman depended on him heavily, so that Leahy, a man of jesuitical brilliance, was the most powerful individual in the government on nondomestic affairs, and even on domestic matters he had indirect influence.

**Certain of Leahy's duties,** such as briefing the President every day on worldwide intelligence reports, have been taken over by Rear Admiral Sidney Souers. Souers is cut from different cloth than Leahy. For one thing, he is a reserve officer who has stayed on after the war. For another his earlier career was in the business and banking world, where his success was notable and won him the respect of businessmen with whom he now must deal.

Because he is essentially a civilian-in-uniform and also because he is a man of considerable intellect, Souers has been an excellent choice for the crucial post of interpreting the intelligence reports that keep the President informed about the world.

The fact that Souers considers St. Louis his home is not the only reason he has his job, but it helped. The President feels a good deal more comfortable with Midwesterners and with men who have small-town backgrounds like his own. One of his own cabinet officers, an Easterner, observed regretfully not long ago that "the President just doesn't like anybody from New York."

STEELMAN

The three Missourians who have survived longest as Truman aides are Secretary Snyder, Clifford and Major General Harry Vaughan.

Clifford is a St. Louis lawyer who graduated from Washington University, St. Louis. His Missouri background helped him fit in with the old Truman cronies who then, more than now, were all over the White House—among them Jake Vardaman, the St. Louis banker who was made a member of the RFC, funnyman George Allen and Secretary Snyder. Though Clifford could drink bourbon and play poker with the best of them, he was something more than just a good fellow. He has had an excellent education, for one thing, and for another he is proud of a liberal tradition in his family. An uncle, Clark McAdams, was chief editorial writer on the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* in the days when that Pulitzer property was still a great, crusading daily. Clifford remembers many of his uncle's teachings and delights in describing how his uncle supported FDR even when Joseph Pulitzer came out for Landon in 1936.

Almost as close to the President as Clifford are Charles Ross, the White House press secretary, and Matthew Connelly, who is executive secretary in charge, among other things, of the President's appointments. Both Ross, a former St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* writer, and Connelly, who worked with the late Harry Hopkins, have the President's ear when they need it, though usually they are so weighed down with the routine of their own work that they touch only the periphery of major issues.

If present indications are borne out, the President's intimate advisers will have much needed additions in his new term—the Secretary of State and the leaders of Congress. In the closing months of his first Administration the President's relations with the State Department were tenuous. Secretary Marshall had spent most of the autumn in Paris. Before that he had been out of the country for other extended missions. And Undersecretary Robert A. Lovett, who took over in his absence, did not have the President's full confidence. The State Department often was completely uninformed of White House plans—for example, when Israel was granted de-facto recognition. But the President admires and trusts Dean Acheson so thoroughly that the new Secretary is expected to take his place among the intimate advisers.

The inner group from now on also will include Vice President Alben Barkley and Representative John McCormack, House Majority Leader.

During the last session Truman's relations with Barkley, Rayburn and the others deteriorated badly. His congressional leaders muttered that the President consulted his few congressional allies so seldom that they were unable to give him any help at all. For months at a time Barkley, then Democratic leader of the Senate, never saw

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the inside of the White House. Now the President has invited his Vice President, the Speaker and others to confer every Monday morning.

Already the President has been repairing his damaged congressional connections by reviving an old Truman custom. Several times recently he has dropped in on Capitol cronies for a drink of bourbon-and-branchwater in the Speaker's private chambers. It is much easier for the President to put over his ideas in such surroundings.

In fact, the poker-table and back-slapping atmosphere is strong in the inner recesses of the White House itself. Poker is still the President's favorite relaxation. General Vaughan, the President's physician, Brigadier General Wallace Graham, Secretary Snyder, Charlie Ross and a few other pals are his usual companions.

**But the events** of recent months —the aggressive, exhausting campaign, the sensational victory with the new self-confidence it brought, and the development of a social program for the coming four years—have worked a subtle change in the White House atmosphere. The old cronies are no less intimate with Harry Truman, but a new circle of men such as Keyserling, Chapman, Ewing and Brannan also have been drawn close. They gave the President what turned out to be good campaign advice and now they are furnishing much of the intellectual content of the Administration's program. They are planners, and the Chief Executive has come to understand his dependence on them. Truman would be the first to admit he is not the Superman whose omniscient specifications come closest to fitting the presidency. He has recognized that a President must have the wholehearted assistance of many able men. And he has been drawing abler ones into his orbit. That is a good sign.

The change in the White House atmosphere has led one staff aide to say, "I would rather work here than any place in America for the simple reason that ideas have a better chance of serious consideration in the White House than any other place I know."

# EARTHQUAKE SIGNS IN TURKEY

*Its economic foundations seem unlikely to withstand the crisis that is bound to come unless deep reforms are made*

**by Alexander Kendrick**

ANKARA

THE BIG RED neon dollar sign that lights up the night sky over Ankara turns out to be the innocent monogram of the Turkish Is (Labor) Bank. But the accidental symbolism is pertinent. After a year of US military aid to Turkey, what has happened to the Turkish armed forces is much less important than what has happened to the Turkish economy under the Truman Doctrine. All the American planes over the Bosporus, all the American training of officers and technicians, all the giving of equipment and the building of military roads, will have less effect on the country's future than the changes in Turkey's trade, for instance.

Every year from 1930 to 1946, inclusive, Turkey had a favorable trade balance. For 1947 she showed a deficit of 60 million Turkish pounds (roughly $21.5 million) as against a 200 million-pound surplus the preceding year. This alteration can best be explained by a single fact. After having been a creditor of the US, Turkey became a debtor, her commercial balance with the US falling 100 million pounds so that she owed 81 million pounds. During 1947, imports from the US tripled over 1946, accounting for one-third of her total imports. The US is the largest factor in Turkish trade.

This might be all to the good if the Turks were buying things they needed and could afford. But imports from the US run largely to automobiles for a country that is practically without roads, and US wool is being imported by the home of the Angora goat. Although Istanbul and Ankara have large, modern taxi fleets, made up of brand-new American cars, there are so many of them that their drivers, unable to make ends meet, raid the public bus lines to get passengers.

As for Turkish exports, consider the fate of tobacco, the country's principal money-maker—it accounts for 40 percent of the export total. Turkey's prewar tobacco market in Germany (which took 60 percent of the entire crop) and in Italy has been taken over by American cigarettes, and the British have not been smoking Turkish tobacco since the US loan.

The 1948 economic statistics are not in yet, but they can only record accentuation of the trend established in 1947 in Turkey—namely, more and more of the budget for military purposes, less and less for education, public health, agriculture and social services; bigger and bigger financial and trade deficits, and less and less purchasing power for the consumer.

Turkish prices are still increasing, although sugar costs 12 times more than in the US despite nationalization of the refineries; a shirt costs 10 times the American price, electricity 10 times, and a pair of shoes five times. In Ankara the members of the US military mission, who receive $14 per diem for expenses, have contributed to the quintupling of rents in a year.

**American influence** has brought other, even more profound, changes. It has caused the relaxation of Turkish *étatism*, which is officially defined as planned participation of the state in the nation's economic expansion. The state now confines its interest to mines, heavy industry, armament, power and public works, whereas previously it strictly controlled all but a small segment of industrial production.

As a result of US policy, it is also possible now for foreign capital to be broadly invested in Turkey, and for profits to be taken out. American businessmen and promoters are the best customers of the Park Hotel bar, the

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de-luxe Abdullah Restaurant in Istanbul, Karpich's and Serge's in Ankara.

Some encouragement of private initiative is probably overdue in Turkey, considering the high cost of state enterprises. Domestic coal, for example, is more expensive than the imported variety because of the backwardness of Turkish mines.

But thus far Turkish businessmen have used the new economic trend primarily to gang up politically against the Inonu government and the dominant Republican People's Party. They are solidly opposed to necessary taxation, and the government has tried vainly for two years to get income-tax legislation through parliament. To make up its budgetary deficit, it can only increase the present sales and consumption taxes, which in turn makes it highly unpopular with the ordinary people who foot the bill.

The Truman Doctrine necessitates the expenditure of nearly 50 percent of government revenue to keep up a standing army estimated at 650,000 men. The average Turk had hoped that the Marshall Plan, now beginning to operate here, might help him solve his problems. But ECA officials in Ankara seem to be thinking mainly in terms of expanding Turkish agriculture, in order to make Western Europe less dependent upon the Soviet satellite states. Turkish industry plays no great part in their plans.

**If, in compensation** for the present uncertain state of affairs, the Truman Doctrine had done anything appreciable for Turkey's defenses, if it had ensured Turkish participation on America's side in the event of war, its usefulness might at least be debatable. On the first count, however, US military and naval officers here admit that supplying the Turkish army with some US equipment, and training technicians to use it, can have no lasting value in an antiquated, caste-ridden and socially dichotomized military system. The gap between officer and 60-cents-a-month conscript is too great, the deficiencies of the Turkish educational process too marked, to permit modern methods to be used in the Turkish army for years to come. And modern equipment is not sufficient these days without a modern establishment behind it.

On the second count, it seems fairly evident that the strains on the Turkish economy may end up by effectively neutralizing the Turks in a future war. Despite all the anti-Soviet talk in Turkey there is a large public opinion for neutrality. Turks remember what happened to their country the last time they fought, in 1914-18, and they also remember the fat years of 1939-45 "neutrality." Added to this is the fear that somehow, some time, the US and Russia may patch things up, leaving the Turks in the lurch. Since the greatest victory Russia could win in the eastern Mediterranean would be Turkish neutrality, it is just conceivable that the American-aided preparations against a Russian attack are superfluous.

Moreover, Turkish neutrality does not seem as fanciful as it did a year ago. Major General Horace L. McBride, chief of the US military mission, is no Otto Liman von Sanders (the German commander of Turkish forces in World War I who defeated the British and French at the Dardanelles and Gallipoli). And there are signs that the Russians are changing their tactics here. Soviet Ambassador Alexander Lavrishev evidently has instructions to cultivate Turkish friendship, and it is noteworthy that nobody talks about the Dardanelles any more.

Recently Soviet and Turkish engineers met on the Caucasian frontier to discuss joint construction of a dam on the Arpaçay River, under terms of an old agreement. Coöperation for the peaceful and mutually useful purpose of irrigation may be an opening, or rather a reopening, wedge for more interesting developments.

There is not much doubt of Turkey's anti-Communist feeling, but the fear of Communism probably rises less from ideology than from merely looking across the Araxes River and comparing Soviet Armenia on the other side with the eastern Turkish district of Kars. The story of Turkey's disputed eastern provinces is that the backwardness, poverty and squalor there leave more of an impression on the visitor than do Turkish frontier defenses. The eastern vilayets constitute a major economic problem for the Turks. This is fully recognized. Yet as President Inonu reported at the opening of the present parliament, nothing can be done to alleviate their condition because of the huge military budget.

Turkey likes to think of herself as still a revolutionary country and speaks reverently of Ataturk, who died 10 years ago. Actually not much has happened since his death—politically, economically or socially. This sort of marking time might get by in ordinary circumstances; it cannot continue much longer under current pressures. There is no particular virtue in the Turkish boast that this is a land without Communists, for it is also without a Socialist party, without adequate political representation for the peasants who make up 80 percent of the population, and without free trade unions.

**The strength** of the forces working for change cannot be judged. The hostility with which the new National Party is regarded by both the government party and the "loyal opposition" —the Democrat Party—offers a clue. The new party is accused of both Fascism and Communism. To some extent it is demagogic, and its nominal leader, the 72-year-old Marshal Fevzi Cakmak, is a figurehead. Yet it makes a great appeal to the peasants, and it proposes such reforms as a bicameral legislature, a four-year presidential term, and the right of labor to strike.

Surface changes wrought by the US aid program will not be enough to get Turkey through the crisis that sooner or later is bound to come. In earthquake country you must look to the foundations. What is needed here is a return to economic reason and the beginning of democratization. The first step toward that would be reconversion to a peacetime budget and the replacement of the Truman Doctrine with economic aid that will enable Turkey to become a member of the European community, instead of a janissary.

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# KARL MARX PASSED EBOLI

*Italy's Communist labor leaders have found fertile new soil in the impoverished south and are raising their prestige*

**by Gino Bardi**

ROME

COOPERATION among the Communists, Christian Democrats and Republicans in the Italian labor movement worked quite smoothly when the powerful Confederazione Generale dei Lavoratore Italiani (CGIL) was first constituted in June, 1944, soon after the liberation of Rome by the Allied forces. Over a period of two years, this coöperation netted positive results for the workers in the form of relative security through freezing layoffs, increasing wages, improving working conditions and winning the "adjustable wage scale," which rose in proportion to changing price levels. Disharmony first made its appearance in the middle of 1947 when the Communists and Nenni Socialists were ousted from the tri-party government by Premier Alcide de Gasperi shortly after his return from a trip to Washington. Differences over the Marshall Plan later tended to widen the split.

After their victory in the national elections in April, 1948, the Christian Democrats developed the theory that they also were entitled to control the trade unions. This was stated in a speech by Amintore Fanfani, present Christian Democratic Minister of Labor. In June, the Christian Democrats, the Saragat Socialists and the Republicans—the three minority groups in the CGIL—formed a Trade Union Alliance to fight the Communist leadership. One of the main accusations made by the Alliance was that the Communist Party was "intervening" in the CGIL.

The original aim of the Alliance was to combine forces in the task of "democratizing" the CGIL, of "educating" the workers away from the "agents of the Cominform." Failing this, the formation of a new trade-union organization similar to the Force Ouvrière in France was inevitable, as leaders of the Alliance made amply clear.

The Alliance died a month later, on July 14-15, when the nationwide general strike exploded after the attempted assassination of Togliatti. Despite all public statements to the contrary, government officials admitted privately (to this writer, among others) that the strike was spontaneous and total. When the CGIL proclaimed the strike officially—with the approval of the minority groups—it was simply recognizing an accomplished fact.

The strike apparently convinced the Christian Democrats that it would be hard to "educate" such workers. They announced they were ready to bolt the CGIL. But the official decision to secede came from an authority outside the labor organization—ACLI (Christian Association of Italian Workers), a creature of Catholic Action. For the past year, under cover of "spreading Christian teachings" among workers, ACLI was preparing the ground for an eventual split. ACLI groups in the various trade unions were under the direct control of "ecclesiastic assistants" appointed by the local bishops.

The real decision to bolt was made on July 22 at a meeting of the National Council of ACLI (made up in large part of people who were not members of the CGIL), presided over by Monsignor Civardi, the "ecclesiastic assistant" representing the authority of the Vatican.

There are some who trace "authority" for the split to Pope Pius himself. Speaking to an assemblage of ACLI members on June 29, he declared that trade-union unity was only "an experiment" (*L'Osservatore Romano*, June 29). "Should the present form of trade unionism endanger the real purpose of the labor movement," the Pope admonished, "then ACLI certainly will not fail in such duties of vigilance and action as the gravity of the case might warrant."

The National Council of ACLI, with Monsignor Civardi's blessing, decided that the CGIL "was dissolved and ceased to exist" and made an appeal for the organization of a new labor confederation. After thus summarily dissolving the CGIL, the eleven Christian Democratic labor leaders who helped make this decision insisted on continuing their official duties within the "dissolved" CGIL. The CGIL executive committee promptly expelled them.

**The choice** of the moment for the split and the manner in which it was organized caused the erstwhile allies of the Catholics—the Republicans and Saragat Socialists—not only to refuse the invitation to follow them out of the CGIL but to denounce them for "subservience to the dictates of Catholic Action and the Vatican." Now, after three months of travail, the Christian Democrats have announced the birth of a new CGIL—"entirely free from the control of any political party"—in which all the offices are held by Christian Democrats.

The claim is made that the new organization already has one million

*This is the second of two articles by Gino Bardi on Italian labor, third in the series on Western European labor. The second article on French labor, by Ogier Preteceille, will appear in an early issue.*

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members. This writer has not found a single anti-Communist trade-union leader in the CGIL who believes it. They point out that the Christian Democrats never had a following of more than 700,000 within the CGIL and that at least a majority of these workers have remained loyal to the CGIL. Defections have occurred mainly among white-collar workers, particularly in the government offices, elementary-school teachers and women textile workers. The unions of basic industrial workers and farm laborers were scarcely touched.

The secessionist trade-union group is handicapped (from the workers' point of view) by the open support of the employers' press and organizations. The CGIL has published documentary proof that the Federation of Italian Industrialists (Confindustria)—the powerful employers' association—has requested its affiliates to "do everything possible to facilitate" the organization of the Catholic trade unions.

While the Christian Democrats continue their anti-Communist fight outside the CGIL, the Saragat Socialists and Republicans have not relaxed their efforts within the CGIL to "unmask the Communists before the workers." The Communist trade-union leaders are accused of "following the party line," of fomenting "political" strikes, of "making politics" in what should be a non-political organization.

The Communists do not deny that they follow their party's line. Nor do they deny that they "make politics"—*fare la politica.* They retort that the Saragat Socialist and Republican trade-union leaders also follow *their* party line, just as the Christian Democrats followed the party line of Catholic Action. The Communists remind the Saragat people that their Socialist Party of Italian Workers (PSLI) held its Third Trade Union Conference in Milan on August 21-23, at which US labor leader Luigi Antonini (head of the Italian-American Labor Council) was present, and where the "line" was indicated for their personnel to follow within the CGIL. The Communists also remind them that a few days later, David Dubinsky, head of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, handed Giuseppe Saragat $5,000, half of which was destined for "trade-union work." The Republicans are reminded that their party also held a trade-union conference recently to decide the "line" for its personnel in the CGIL. In short, the Communists insist that all the leaders follow party lines and "make politics" accordingly.

**Another factor** which accounts for the Communists' success in the unions is that they have many experienced labor leaders, among whom CGIL general secretary Giuseppe di Vittorio is outstanding. Born 56 years ago in Cerignola, in the Puglia, di Vittorio's tough, stocky frame and his large head remind one a bit of John L. Lewis. He started his career as a farm laborer at the age of eight. At 13 he was already on the executive committee of the local Peasants Union.

Two years after the advent of Fascism, di Vittorio joined the Communist Party. Shortly afterwards a Fascist Special Tribunal condemned him to 12 years' imprisonment, but he had already escaped to France. By 1930 he had risen to membership in the Politburo of the Communist Party. During the Spanish Civil War, under the battle name of "Nicoletti," he was political commissar of the First International Brigade. The start of

DRAWINGS BY BEN SHAHN

the Second World War found him in Paris. He was arrested, sent to Germany by the Nazis, then turned over to Mussolini. He was liberated from prison after Mussolini's downfall. In Rome, under illegal conditions, before the arrival of the Allies, di Vittorio had already worked out a unity pact with Catholics and Socialists for the constitution of the CGIL. He is considered by many Catholic leaders the "most human" of the Communists.

A second experienced leader is 54-year-old Giovanni Roveda, secretary of the 700,000-strong Federation of Metallurgical Workers (FIOM), commonly referred to by the workers as the "armored division" of the CGIL. Roveda participated in his first strike at the age of 14. In 1919 he helped lead the workers who occupied the factories in Turin. He was beaten almost to death by the Fascists in 1921, and in 1926 was condemned to 18 years' imprisonment. After serving 17 years, he escaped during a wartime bombardment and at once started party activity.

A third influential figure on the

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Communist labor scene is 48-year-old Teresa Noce, secretary of the Federation of Textile Workers (600,000 members) and wife of the partisan leader Luigi Longo. From the age of 11 she took part in strikes, and led women's strikes at FIAT in 1917. She became a Socialist and later a Communist. When her first imprisonment occurred she was pregnant with her first child. Came Fascism, more arrests, then escape to France.

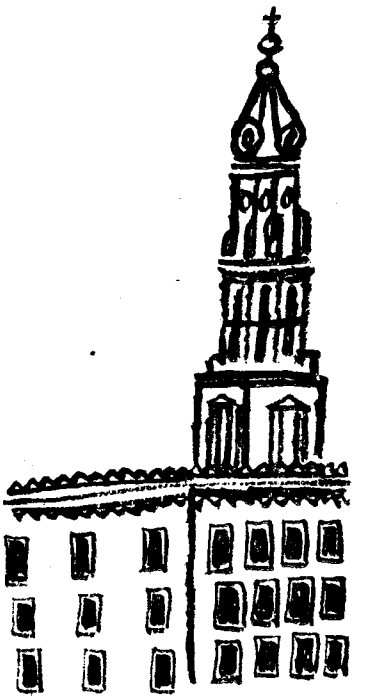
**By comparison** with these three fairly typical examples, the trade-union leaders of other political parties have led sheltered lives. Giulio Pastore, 46-year-old secessionist Christian Democratic labor leader, now secretary of the "free" CGIL, was an organizer of the "white" Christian textile union before Fascism. During the entire 20 years of the Fascist regime, Pastore led an undisturbed private life as an official of Catholic Action. The representatives in the CGIL secretariat of the Saragat Socialists and Republicans, Giovanni Canini and Enrico Parri respectively, are good, honest trade-union leaders. Outstanding among the Nenni Socialist trade-union leaders is Fernando Santi, second in importance in the CGIL after di Vittorio. He somewhat resembles Philip Murray of the CIO, is widely respected, has a good record and works smoothly with the Communists.

Still another factor making for Communist success is that during the 20 years of Mussolini's regime the Communists maintained an underground organization in Italy. With members in the factories and infiltrated as organized cells in the Fascist trade unions and mass organizations, the Communist Party was able to keep in contact with the workers. The March and April, 1943, strikes and peace demonstrations in Milan and Turin, organized by the Communists, undoubtedly played an important part in precipitating Mussolini's downfall. The partisan resistance movement and the April, 1945, insurrection above the Gothic Line were mainly under Communist leadership.

The government, apparently doubtful that the new Catholic trade unions can reduce Communist influence, hints that anti-strike legislation may be necessary. But a new tactic employed by the CGIL—"non-collaboration" in place of the strike weapon—presents a more perplexing problem. The workers perform *only* those duties strictly required of them by the terms of their collective labor contract with the employers. In one month of operation among FIAT's 60,000 workers, this method resulted in a 15 to 20-percent decrease in production.

The Communists in the CGIL assert that non-collaboration is less damaging to production than an outright strike. This was also the opinion of Giulio Pastore, new head of the Catholic trade-union organization, when he was still in the CGIL and could see the tactic operating in all metallurgical plants during last year's fight for a national labor contract. He has now changed his mind. The secessionist Catholic labor center has branded non-collaboration "sabotage at the orders of foreign agents." Similar statements —in almost identical language—were issued practically simultaneously by the government and the Confederation of Industrialists.

There has been considerable talk in government circles of repressive legislation, of an Italian version of the Taft-Hartley Act, of "anti-sabotage laws to crush the agents of the Cominform." But such action is unlikely so long as the Communists can base their hold on the workers and poor peasants on the inhuman misery prevalent among Italy's masses, and on the absence, so far, of any improvement in these conditions ascribable to the Marshall Plan. A growing suspicion that the government (the Christian Democrats in particular) considers the Marshall Plan a substitute for overdue economic reforms has begun to creep into the ranks of the parties allied to the Christian Democrats. There are ominous stirrings of dissatisfaction in Saragat's party.



The Communists have caught the mass mood—"This can't go on"—and are organizing it. Recent administrative elections indicate a trend to the Left. Already strong in the north, the CGIL in the past year has been concentrating on the workers and peasants of southern Italy and Sicily, stronghold of the Church, the feudal land barons and the *mafia*. Where "Christ stopped at Eboli," the land and bread-hungry peasants see in the CGIL an instrument for their deliverance. "Christ stopped at Eboli"—but Karl Marx went beyond it some time ago.

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# SCANDINAVIA AND THE ATLANTIC PACT

**by Samuel Abrahamsen**

THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES offer an outstanding example of successful coöperation in such fields as legislation, banking, insurance, navigation, etc. But in foreign policy there is a historical lack of uniformity. For example, the union between Norway and Sweden was dissolved in 1905 because Norway wanted to shape her own foreign policy. Only in time of crisis has Scandinavia adopted a common foreign policy. Thus, at the outbreak of World War II, the three foreign ministers all came out for strict adherence to neutrality.

The present cold war between East and West, however, has not yet created such a common design of purpose. On the contrary, public opinion in Scandinavia is very much divided on joining the North Atlantic pact, which says in effect that an armed attack on any one of the signatories must be regarded as an attack on all of them. This division of opinion can be traced back to that of geography. Denmark has a common frontier with Germany, Norway borders on the Soviet Union, while Sweden has Finland as her closest neighbor. Moreover, the pressures brought to bear by the great powers also play a big part.

Since 1814, when Norway and Sweden fought each other, the possibility that these "brother countries" might be forced to align themselves in opposite camps has been considered a catastrophe. Yet something of this sort took place during World War II. Norway and Denmark were occupied by the Germans while Sweden managed to keep her "neutrality," partly by making great concessions to the Germans. Up to July, 1943, Sweden permitted German personnel to travel through her territory from Norway, either to Germany or to the northern front against the Soviet Union.

Nor was this the first modern example of Sweden's interpreting "neutrality" so as to favor one of the contestants in a nearby war. During the Russo-Finnish War in the winter of 1939-40, Sweden conducted herself as an active co-belligerent on the side of the Finns, supplying Finland with military supplies, ammunition and volunteers.

At the time of the German invasion of Norway in 1940, the Norwegians had begun to slip away from their neutrality. By 1942 they had observed another example of the Swedish interpretation of neutrality. In April of that year ten Norwegian ships trying to escape to the United Kingdom from the "neutral" port of Gothenburg in Sweden were intercepted by German warships. When the Norwegian vessels turned back to port, a Swedish warship barred their way. They were forced to run the German gantlet; six ships were sunk.

Norway and Denmark have now abandoned their policy of neutrality in power politics. The Norwegian government's party organ *Arbeiderbladet* wrote on December 11, 1948: "It must be clear to all that Norwegian public opinion makes it absolutely impossible to extend the Swedish neutrality policy to include Norway as well."

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But Norway has not yet decided to join the North Atlantic pact, even though she is linked closely by maritime and other interests with Great Britain, hence with the United States too.

Sweden is reluctant to declare her foreign policy. Having successfully kept out of two world wars, she would like to stay out of a third. Many Swedes would like to convince Danes and Norwegians of the wisdom of forming a Scandinavian bloc independent both of the East and of the West. The argument is that such a bloc would be recognized under Article 52 of the Charter of the United Nations. The Swedish proposal is for a mutual-defense pact to neutralize and stabilize Scandinavia during future hostilities. Many prominent political leaders in Sweden hold this point of view. It is supported by the voters, who in September, 1948, returned to power the Socialist Democratic Party and its leader, Tage Erlander.

**The Swedish sponsors** of a Scandinavian bloc within the framework of the United Nations point to the Eastern bloc, the Arab states bloc and the Latin American bloc. As a first step toward creating such a Scandinavian bloc, a committee consisting of members of all three countries is investigating the feasibility of establishing an inter-Scandinavian defense system.

At a meeting during the first week of January in the Swedish city of Karlstad, Sweden offered Norway and Denmark a full military alliance on condition that they refrained from joining the North Atlantic pact. The purpose, of course, would be to avoid antagonizing the Soviet Union. If any one of the three countries were attacked, however, the Swedes argued, an inter-Scandinavian defense pact would delay enemy action until help came. This view was credited to the Swedish Commander-in-Chief, Helge Jung, who, in opposition to many of the political leaders, maintained that Sweden would probably be invaded in

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the early phases of an East-West war.

Such reasoning is not likely to gain headway in Norway or Denmark. Time and again the Norwegian press has repudiated neutrality, especially the Swedish brand. The party organ of the Labor Government in Norway wrote recently: "It is only through binding coöperation and not through neutrality and isolation that we can achieve our goal of security and order."

The Danish reaction to the Swedish proposal is a little different. Danish sentiment seems to be in favor of a Scandinavian defense pact provided an arrangement could be made with the United States to receive supplies and munitions. In Norway, sentiment is overwhelmingly in favor of supporting the Western powers by joining the North Atlantic pact. Foreign Minister Halvard M. Lange declared in Parliament on December 10, 1948: "We are a part of Western Europe, geographically, economically and culturally; we are and will remain a Western European democracy."

**As things** now stand, Scandinavia is more or less a military vacuum between East and West. The Swedish Foreign Minister, Osten Unden, maintains that Scandinavia does not constitute a major strategic area between the big powers, and argues, therefore, for the strictest possible neutrality. Behind this attitude of Sweden is her fear of attack by the Soviet Union. Since Sweden ceded Finland and the Island of Aaland to Russia in 1809, she has felt her security threatened from the East. And today Stockholm is within artillery range from the Soviet-occupied Baltic states. If Sweden signed up with the Western powers, she could expect an immediate reaction from the Soviet Union, probably through Finland.

Nevertheless, there are signs that even in Sweden public opinion is moving away from neutrality. In a recent poll conducted by the leading liberal paper in Stockholm, *Dagens Nyheter,* 24 percent voted for signing up with the North Atlantic pact and only 22 percent against.

# STEEL: STUCK IN AN OLD RUT

*America's jobs depend upon an industry that is still crippled by the past and betting on a not too bright future*

**by Norman Grieser**

RECENT NEWS RELEASES and advertisements sponsored by the American Iron and Steel Institute featured such headlines as "America's Steel Capacity Reaches All-Time Peak." Like most headlines, it tells only part of the story.

The fact is that American steel production has not yet revived from the stagnation of the 1930's. If the industry had rebuilt at the rate at which it expanded from 1884 to 1934, its capacity would be a little more than 110 million tons by 1950. Such an increase would not take into account the record production made during wartime, the additional factor of government-financed plants constructed during the war or the record output expected this year. But even with all this expansion the industry itself expects to produce in 1950 only 98 million tons—approximately 12 million tons less than would be reached at the normal rate of expansion.

For a variety of reasons—psychology, supply, cost and monopoly—the American steel industry never completely lifted production out of the hole it fell into during the depression years. Then, demand for steel dropped sharply and the industry operated at as little as 20 percent of capacity. Few or no new steel-production facilities were built. Today, after the boom of the defense and war years, and continuing full employment since the war's end, industry leaders are still suffering from the psychological effects of the 1929 bust. With demand, income and profits at record levels, they still fear another depression with consequent excess capacity.

One instance of this state of mind was given by the steel industry representative who testified before a Senate committee in 1947 that an average of only 56 million ingot tons would be needed to fill 1950 demand. Various government and private studies contained estimates that ranged up to almost twice that much.

The steel man was allowing for a possible depression. Unless steel's shortsighted policies and resistance to adequate expansion help bring about the very situation it has feared all along—an economic bust—it looks as if the continued high demand and galloping shortages will continue.

President Truman's recent request for authority to investigate the steel shortage, and, if necessary, to build government plants, was generally regarded as the most explosive and controversial part of his State of the Union message. It was made in the light of his Truman committee experience and under pressure from such men as Assistant Secretary of the Interior C. Girard Davidson, Senator Murray (D, Mont.), Walter Reuther, Philip Murray and the economists of the Council of Economic Advisers.

Under their leadership, the fight for more steel to make more jobs (Senator Murray estimated that the steel shortage cost American industry and labor $15 billion of gross business in 1947) has gone on for more than two years. Yet the President might have made his recent request for authority over steel after having read the pages of recent issues of some of America's business publications.

In December, *Fortune* magazine stated that "never before in peacetime has the steel industry worked so hard, yet never has it fallen so short of meeting the unceasing demand." A few weeks earlier, *Business Week* observed that the steel supply "today is getting tighter instead of easier. . . . If full employment continues, the demand for steel will stay ahead of sup-

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ply indefinitely unless capacity is further increased."

In its struggles to meet the demand for steel, the industry is confronted with the dilemmas of its own character and state of mind.

1. Facing high costs of expanding production, industry leaders are still cautious. They are consciously or unconsciously planning for a future "recession" and decline in the demand for steel.

2. The American steel industry is clumsy, semi-monopolistic and hard to get moving quickly. Demand is good, profits are high and competition lacking. There is more interest in dividing up markets and stabilizing costs than there is in risking new capital for expanding and modernizing production.

Monopoly means arrogance and public-be-damned attitudes. One dazzling example was the US Steel stock split last week. Such financial melon-cutting won't soothe any tempers in government or labor circles. They want more steel, not more stock, on the market.

3. Even steel's friends admit that the industry hasn't done much about uncovering new and cheaper ways of making steel. *Fortune* recently stated that "although steel has some top-notch scientific minds, its climate has never been friendly toward broad-gauge research. It is too busy for science in boom times, and feels itself too broke for such a luxury in depressions."

**Under the continuing** pressure of the steel shortage, public opinion, government investigations and prodding, and the high costs of building new equipment along conventional lines, a few new developments in technology are being cautiously explored.

Most recent is the development by Republic Steel, with the Babcock and Wilcox Tube Company, of the continuous-casting process. In that method, molten steel goes through a process of controlled cooling and molding to come out as semi-finished oval steel billets. There is no need to pour ingots and reheat them for shaping. The new method cuts out the need for high-cost stripper cranes, soaking pits and blooming mills.

This process would make possible the building of small and widely separated steel mills. The plants could be erected much closer to the factories using the finished product. The investment cost is much less. One expert has been quoted as saying that the break-even point for a mill using the continuous-casting process will be somewhere around 100,000 tons of steel production per year. (The old process is economically feasible at a figure of about a million tons yearly.) However, it is estimated that perfecting continuous casting and getting it into use will take five to ten years.

**Another advance** in steel technology has been the use of pressurized blast furnaces to produce pig iron, a basic raw material. Republic Steel, which ran a blast furnace under pressure in an experiment originally financed by the Defense Plants Corporation, finds that it is getting 20 percent more pig iron while using up to 15 percent less coke per ton of pig iron produced. Yet only one other company is using the "top pressure" method.

The use of oxygen in steel-making also is being tried. This method has been found to increase production something like 30 percent. However, the cost factor is still uncertain, and only two American companies are installing the facilities to manufacture oxygen for such use.

Steel technology is facing some of the most fundamental problems in the history of the industry. Most pressing is the depletion of the coking coals of the Connelsville district in Pennsylvania. Next most vital is the exhaustion of the high-grade ores of the Mesabi Range. Lower-grade coke and ore mean higher production costs. Another important factor is the shortage of scrap. Scrap makes up as much as 50 percent of finished steel and its cost has skyrocketed since the end of the OPA, although imports from overseas, especially from Germany, are increasing.

The twentieth century still is an age of iron and steel. As the American economy produces more, and discovers, manufactures and markets new and better products, the need for steel continues to increase. The all-important role of steel in rearmament and ERP, plus the need for more and cheaper steel for refrigerators, stoves, washing machines and automobiles, is widely recognized—at least outside the industry. Every year each American needs more steel. And more and cheaper steel for more and cheaper products means an increasing number of jobs for labor.

As the President and his advisers recognize, full employment and continued prosperity depend upon an increased output of steel. As even such friends as *Fortune* admit, "Come war or peace, the next ten years for the US steel industry will be the most crucial it has known. If the industry doesn't want to change, there is a convergence of forces likely to make it change just the same."

**The President's proposals** were a significant indicator of these non-industry forces. Despite its expensive public-relations campaign, what the industry needs is a strong shot of get-up-and-go. In any case, whether a comfortably middle-aged, winded, out-of-training athlete like our present steel industry can run a hundred yards in ten seconds flat is dubious.

With every American's economic future depending upon steel's performance, perhaps what is needed is a hot iron applied by the Truman Administration. Perhaps more drastic methods, such as government steel production, are needed. Whatever the answer, the dangerous trend in the thinking of the entire industry was well illustrated by the latest issue of *Business Week*.

"The steel market," it said, "now appears to be taking the first steps back to normalcy. A business recession of any considerable dimension will practically insure its getting there this year."

Remembering what "recession" and unemployment meant in the thirties, one can only add, "God, and full-employment policies, forbid!"

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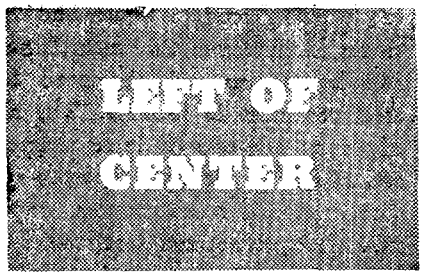


PRACTICAL PRECINCT POLITICS is acquiring respectability. One aspect of that growing "respectability" is the new crop of college courses on the teaching of political techniques. Art Naftalin, first secretary to Hubert Humphrey when he was Mayor of Minneapolis, gives a course at the University of Minnesota entitled "Field Work in Government and Politics." Garfield Jones has been teaching a course at the University of Toledo that attempts to stress the "participating approach" to good citizenship. This spring, City College of New York will offer a course in "Political Parties," with the accent on the practical approach, taught by Gus Tyler, political director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

**A daily labor paper** is an official objective of the American Federation of Labor and the International Labor Press of America. The initiative came from the International Typographical Union, which insisted that only by "a daily newspaper can the cause of organized labor be fairly and truthfully presented." The *Paper Maker,* publication of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, AFL, points out that "the only organization which through the years has had success in establishing and operating a daily newspaper is the Christian Science Church, which publishes the *Christian Science Monitor.* The *Paper Maker* says that a labor daily "could be successful only by following a completely objective and impartial news policy."

**Toledo's** United Labor Committee offers another example of the unions' continuing interest in direct political work. Originally organized to elect Tom Burke, secretary of the Toledo CIO Council, to the House of Representatives, the committee has become a permanent agency, including CIO, AFL, the Mechanics Educational Society of America and the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

**The IAM** (International Association of Machinists) officially announced through its officers—Chairman Harvey W. Brown, Vice-Chairman Eric Peterson and Secretary-Treasurer Al Hayes—that it is now permanently in business and will start collecting funds in 1949 for the 1950 elections. In reply to a letter from the Young Republican Club of Washington University, Hayes said that the IAM was "partisan to principle, non-partisan to party." He said that the union would back liberal Republicans and then added, "How it [GOP] can discard the McCormicks, Tabers, Tafts, Balls, Hartleys, Martins, and such leadership is the $64 question. We believe that is your problem; we wish you success."

**The reorientation** of the Socialist Party, as a result of the recent election, may have far-reaching effects upon the general liberal political movement. Because Norman Thomas and his colleagues have traveled a lone political path on Election Day, Socialist influence on the general progressive movement has dwindled. To recapture moral influence, the Socialist Party has a six-point plan: (1) establish a Socialist Center in the United States to embrace all those who consider themselves Socialists yet are not affiliated with the party; (2) establish organic unity with the Social-Democratic Federation; (3) "clarify" Socialist thinking in the light of current experience; (4) advance a Social Budget, a legislative program going far beyond the New and Fair Deals and conceived in Socialist terms; (5) conduct research on basic problems; (6) shift emphasis to community problems and sink roots into local soil. The question of future electoral work is referred to the membership for discussion and future decision. By pursuing this reorientation the Socialists expect to gather new strength and act as an intellectual leaven in the growing and consolidating progressive movement of America.

**Tucker P. Smith,** Socialist vice-presidential candidate in 1948, was dismissed with four other faculty members of Olivet College, Michigan. Dr. Smith was president of Local 1000 of the American Federation of Teachers. The dismissed faculty members are fighting for reinstatement. Three board members have resigned: State Senator James Milliken; an official of the Consumers' Light and Power Company, James Foote; and a general manager of an automobile-parts plant, Harold Jones.

**Phil Murray's decision** to transfer jurisdiction from the CIO Wholesale-Retail Union to Jacob Potofsky's Amalgamated Clothing Workers has stirred up a nest of hornets. The former Wholesale-Retail crowd dropped its former head, Samuel Wolchok, and reorganized to maintain jurisdiction. Simultaneously, the AFL Retail Clerks rushed into the field with new vigor, organizing plants and making unity proposals to the CIO men. From the West Coast, Dave Beck, executive vice-president of the Teamsters (AFL), announced a drive for one million new members, aimed primarily at clerks and warehouse men.

Meanwhile, the Communist-dominated department-store locals continue to negotiate agreements: *viz.,* a major contract with Gimbel's. Finally, a number of unions in the manufacturing field, eyeing the Amalgamated with envy, will seek to reinforce their control over industries under their jurisdiction by organizing the people employed in warehouses and retail outlets. In short, the distributive workers are rapidly becoming the point of friction between the CIO and the AFL and within the organizations themselves.

**Cooperators** were pleasantly shocked when Herbert U. Nelson, lobbyist for the National Association of Real Estate Boards, placed himself on record as favoring co-op housing. NAREB hastened to disaffiliate itself from the lobbyist's viewpoint.

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# BOOKS IN REVIEW

## BLACKSTONE FOR THE PROLETARIAT

**by James R. Newman**

ANDREI VYSHINSKY'S *The Law of the Soviet State* (Macmillan; $15) is a large, serious tome of such diverse content that it bears some resemblance to Mrs. Murphy's famous chowder, even to the unmistakable presence of a pair of toiler's overalls. Having diligently read through its 700 pages I cannot in my attitude be accused of flippant superficiality; nor do I wish to be understood as implying by my comparison that there is not much of use and solid value to be found in Vyshinsky's wide-angle survey. With a group of anonymous collaborators he has assembled an extraordinarily variegated, highly seasoned book which will satisfy and/or irritate the reader, depending on what he expects to find in a volume bearing this title.

*The Law of the Soviet State* is the standard reference text for Soviet students of law and government. It is also, as Professor John N. Hazard points out in his excellent introduction, a "militant handbook" for Soviet officials, a point to which I shall return. Vyshinsky's contribution is apparently much greater than that of the average editor to a work of this kind. This is understandable on considering that the Soviet Union is a place where consequences are apt to follow from what one publishes. Vyshinsky's active participation is indicated by the energy, aggressiveness, vehemence and invective which characterize much of the writing: his reputation as a diplomat who speaks his mind even when other diplomats are present, and as a prosecutor who approaches almost every issue as though it were a criminal to be exposed rather than a problem to be elucidated is fully sustained.

**The setting** in which the book was written demands some notice. It appeared in 1938, two years after the adoption of the new Soviet Constitution. This long-awaited event seemed to promise, Hazard writes, an end to many temporary, discriminatory, revolutionary controls and the beginning of an "age of greater tolerance" in the social and political sphere. But in the period 1936-38 conditions in Europe deteriorated rapidly; the Second World War seemed inevitable, and Soviet policy, both foreign and domestic, bent to the storm. Nothing (certainly no doctrinal preconceptions) could be permitted to impede the USSR's preparations for the approaching conflict. Several of the freedoms promised by the Stalin Constitution never came alive (it is idle to speculate whether they might have been put into effect had there been no military threat); and programs designed to bring nearer the goal of communism (when the state, its machinery become superfluous, would "wither away") were discarded.

For this utopian doctrine of gradual atrophy, Vyshinsky, I gather, never had much use. For one thing, Lenin had made it clear that "Marxism provided no precise blueprint for the future government of revolutionary Russia." Step-by-step experimentation would be required, he thought, to evolve the forms best suited to existing conditions and forces. Furthermore, Vyshinsky felt that the immensely difficult and precarious task of achieving stability while in rapid motion, of gaining the benefits of permanence while in transition, of establishing a viable order without extinguishing the precious spirit of revolution, could only be carried through by a variety of traditional "legal means," wielded by the proletarian dictatorship: this, in turn, presupposed a strong central state rather than a weakling confederation working toward its own dissolution. That opinion underlies Vyshinsky's entire conception of jurisprudence, and influences the treatment of every major problem raised in his book.

Vyshinsky's survey scans the genesis and meaning of the Constitution, the social organization of the USSR, its economic and administrative system, its body of public law, its courts and legislative units, the rights and obligations of individual citizens and of member republics. It contains a mass of economic data, a wholly inadequate description of the role of the Communist Party, and very little by way of substantive detail as to how the machinery of state actually works as compared with how it is supposed to work.

**I cannot hope** in this space to explain—even if I were qualified to do so—the ponderous, complex issues of economic, political and legal theory raised in Vyshinsky's analysis and rationalization of developments in the structure of the Soviet state. A few examples will serve to illustrate his didactic method and may furnish glimpses of Soviet law and thought.

1. The great socialist principle, "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his toil," is, as Vyshinsky points out, "unjust" from the viewpoint of Communism. Communist doctrine, in its purest form, would require instead, "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his need." But this is frankly recognized as unattainable because "it is impossible (without falling into utopianism) to suppose that, after overthrowing capitalism, people will learn at one stroke to work for society *without rules of law of any sort*, and the abolition of capitalism *does not at a stroke give* economic premises of *such change*" (his italics). This is a typical instance of Vyshinsky's practical approach to matters involving Marxist-Leninist theories. He who works, eats; he who doesn't, doesn't;

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he (or she) who works exceptionally well as a riveter, chess-player, geneticist (or child bearer) is entitled to "rewards, prizes and exemptions." Nothing in this doctrine, I take it, to alarm General Motors.

2. Bourgeois democracies move under the principle of the "separation of powers," thus preventing abuses which might result from vesting too much authority in a single person or branch of government. The USSR, says Vyshinsky, does not need this bourgeois principle of checks and balances:

> From top to bottom the Soviet social order is penetrated by the single general spirit of the oneness of the authority of the toilers. The program of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) rejects the bourgeois principle of separation of powers. The unity of the authority of the toilers, embodied in the highest organs of that authority, expresses their democratic nature and the sovereignty of the Soviet people.

On the other hand this should not lead to the belief that there is in fact no separation of powers in the USSR administrative machinery, for according to the very next paragraph:

> In the USSR, authority has its beginning in the genuine popular sovereignty personified by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. This is not incompatible with limiting the jurisdiction of authority as between separate organs. *Such limitation flows out of the extraordinarily complex functions of the Soviet state machinery governing both people and economy.* (My italics.)

This explanation, if I understand it correctly, might be paraphrased as follows: In bourgeois countries automobiles are made with brakes. In the USSR this device is rejected as a deliberate attempt to exploit the drivers. Soviet automobiles have no brakes. This does not mean that the Soviets have no way of stopping their cars. Indeed, every car stops itself due to its complex machinery and the friction between the several parts.

3. ". . . Soviet democracy and the Soviet state are a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic." (I can think of no other nation, except the US, capable of saying foolish things so earnestly.) The fact is borne out by the Stalin Constitution, which assures "the right to labor; the right to rest; the right to material security in old age; . . . the right to education; freedom of conscience; truly democratic freedoms of speech, of assembly, of the press, and of meetings; and the right to be united in social organizations."

**Occasionally,** a few restraints are necessary. Thus: "In our state, naturally, there is and can be no place for freedom of speech, press and so on, for the foes of socialism." The granting of freedoms of any kind to those unworthy of freedom—presumably those engaged in un-Russian activities—must be classified as a "counter-revolutionary crime." Freedom of assembly, of meetings, parades, demonstrations and so on "are the property of all the citizens in the USSR, fully guaranteed by the state *upon the single condition that they be utilized in accord with the interests of the toilers and to the end of strengthening the socialist social order.*" (My italics.)

The right to unite in social organizations is absolute; but the Soviet state "naturally does not include freedom of political parties . . . inasmuch as this freedom, in the conditions prevailing in the USSR, where the toilers have complete faith in the Communist Party, is necessary only for agents of fascism and foreign reconnaissance whose purpose is to take all freedoms away from the USSR and to put the yoke of capitalism upon them once more."

The secret police in Russia has a long and unsavory history. Fortunately the new constitution guarantees the citizen the inviolability of his person against invasions by the Soviet FBI. Thus, by example, "No one may familiarize himself with a citizen's personal correspondence, with one exception only: in case this is necessary to disclose crime and detect a criminal. . . ."

4. Frequently in the midst of a serious juridical exposition Vyshinsky launches into a stirring panegyric on strangely peripheral topics: The beauties of Moscow; Soviet boundaries which are "sharply guarded by our heroic border troops . . . [and] four mighty Soviet fleets"; Marx, Lenin and Stalin; the Soviet coat of arms; and so on. For instance: "On the coat of arms of capitalist states birds of prey and beasts—eagles, hawks and lions—are most widely depicted, characterizing the rapacious policy of the states' dominant class." The proletarian dictatorship has for its coat of arms the familiar emblem of toil, the hammer and sickle; underneath are the words: "Proletarians of all countries unite!" Above is the star of the Red Army—"a menacing reminder."

**As characteristic** as these examples may be, they give a false impression of the whole book, an impression valid certainly on only one level. For it is important to remember that *The Law of the Soviet State* is written on several levels, with several audiences in view. This accounts, I believe, for many of its puzzling, contradictory features: ideas concealed within ideas; crude arguments and subtle ones; bluster and sobriety; honesty and exaggeration; Slavic realism and Teutonic metaphysics; sensible exposition interlarded with boisterous idiocies. Vyshinsky's book starts out as a straightforward textbook on constitutional law. The descriptions of the legislative system, of the various Commissariats, of the function of the courts, of the formation of the Constitution are orthodox and informative. (The style of presentation is, to be sure, incredible. Hugh W. Babb, the translator, seems to have struggled manfully with his immense pile of prose, but sentence after sentence resembles a Chekhov or Gogol caricature of the literary style of a Russian bureaucrat.)

Second, it is a revolutionary handbook, a guidebook and a practical memorial whereby men may be instructed and at the same time warm themselves, in de Tocqueville's words, at the fire of their fathers' passions. Third, it is a hagiography, a tribute to various saints: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin. Fourth, it is a polemic against sundry "wreckers," "bandits" and "gangsters" (Trotsky, Bukharin, etc.).

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Fifth, it is a declaration of piety and zealous conformity by its authors (Vyshinsky and collaborators). Sixth, it is a show for foreigners, an exhibition of the imposing structure and legal system of the USSR, a refutation of the "slanders of enemies."

Finally, the book shows evidence of being in conflict with itself on major doctrinal issues. *Destruam et aedificabo* ("I shall destroy and I shall build") were the words appearing on one of Proudhon's books. We may, in a sense, regard this not only as Marx's motto (as Isaiah Berlin points out) but as the motto—and the dilemma—of Vyshinsky. How, side by side, to promote obedience and to encourage rebellion, to destroy tradition and yet to build with the aid of its forms? These problems beset the teacher, and baffle him, no less than they baffle and beset the politician.

**Vyshinsky's treatise** is invaluable for ignorant foreigners like us who live behind the Iron Curtain—for the curtain of course has two behinds and we are as much behind one as the Russians are behind the other. Each of several chapters contains more information about the Soviet system than is to be found in any year's ration of foreign dispatches; in the detailed, authoritative treatises on Russia written by those who left there in the days of Kerensky; in the great collection of confessions, reminiscences and apologias by reformed Marxists, unreformed Czarists, renegades, police spies, informers and other disinterested observers who have jumped, crawled, run, flown, swum and burrowed to freedom. Vyshinsky makes the Soviet state out to be believable and the framers of its laws neither imbeciles, maniacs nor beasts. Undoubtedly they differ from our own politicians, though not as much as you might think. Reading this book is not conducive either to hating or loving the Russians. Neither emotion is desirable, much less required. It should, however, help to a saner understanding of how the Russians differ from us politically. This is required, absolutely, for policy makers as well as plain men.

## K. AS COMMENTATOR

THE PENAL COLONY, by Franz Kafka. Translated by Willa and Edwin Muir (Schocken Books; $3).

THE DIARIES OF FRANZ KAFKA, 1910-13. Edited by Max Brod (Schocken Books; $3.75).

THE DIARIES OF FRANZ KAFKA, 1914-23. Edited by Max Brod (Schocken Books; $3.75).

WHEN Franz Kafka died twenty-five years ago, he had published no more than the five major stories and thirty-odd sketches which now appear under the title of *The Penal Colony*—and which substantially correspond to the first volume in the collected German edition of his works. That edition now comprises five volumes, including the biography by Kafka's editor and executor, Max Brod; it will be completed by five more volumes of diaries, letters and further literary remains. Meanwhile, with the collection covering 1914-23, the all-important sequence of diaries has just been completed for English-speaking readers. The translation by different hands seems workmanlike, so far as it may be judged in the absence of the original text, although it does not quite attain the finish or maintain the tone that Willa and Edwin Muir set for the stories. The publishers are to be congratulated upon the whole project, as well as upon a format which reminds us of Kafka's fondness for children's books.

**We have had** all too few books by Kafka and all too many about him: critiques and commentaries which are outdistanced and outdated as the posthumous publication of his own work proceeds. The more we read, the more clearly we realize that mystagogues and metacritics, weaving their particular magic circles around him, have done more to obfuscate than to illuminate. Neither his intentions nor his effects can be fully interpreted by psychoanalysis, existentialism, or any other purely schematic terms. The symbolist, retiring behind his handiwork, is always beckoning and eluding commentators; for symbols, because they must be concrete, must also be somewhat opaque; and consequently, when they prove effective, they signify various things to varying readers. The suspending thread of Kafka's narrative is just as simple and sinister, as unexpected and inevitable, as wide-eyed and age-old as Grimm's fairy tales. And in the analysis and evaluation of his writing, it may well be that Kafka—like Henry James—is his own best critic.

He now becomes the final authority on himself: his person and personality, his family and friendship, his engagement and disengagement. His diaries are notebooks as much as journals: they range from sheer introspection to sharp observation, from daily jottings and intimate confessions to critical ideas and imaginative fragments. The record of his travels offers an incidental glimpse of *The Castle*, which is adumbrated in a sketch called "The Temptation in the Village." Some of his finished tales were first written out in these pages, along with Kafka's self-revealing comments—notably "The Judgment," which probes relationships with his father and his fiancée as explicitly as any psychoanalyst. He responds to Flaubert and Dostoevsky, and seems more interested in the asceticism than in the mysticism of Kierkegaard. His own speculations are addressed to "the human tribunal." When he visits Dr. Rudolf Steiner, to ask if theosophy can resolve his dilemma between professional routines and artistic interests, it is Kafka who ends by diagnosing the learned doctor's case.

Though the letter K. is fairly ubiquitous, Kafka finds it characteristically "offensive, almost disgusting." His conflicts turn, as he jots them down, into contrasts; one paragraph describes a synagogue, the next a cabaret; he moves from a parable of the ghetto to the allure of a pork-butcher's shop. "What have I in common with Jews?" he asks. "I have hardly anything in common with myself. . . ." Self-consciousness, pushed to this unique degree, is the precondition of universality. Despite intense susceptibili-

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ties, which put him at the mercy of every passing girl, he deliberately chose loneliness as a way of life. He keenly understood his limitations, his necessities, his gifts: "my talent for portraying my dreamlike inner life." Now a dreamer is both observer and observed, actor and spectator. Kafka's habitual role is passive rather than active, professedly spectatorial: "I, only I, am the spectator in the orchestra." Yet his fascination with the Yiddish actors, supported by his histrionic flair, helped him to perform a choric function between the tragedy of modern Europe and ourselves, the audience.

Turning from his notes to his first published fragment, "Conversation with the Supplicant," we see him already playing his double part. His narrative character here engages in dialogue with a prostrate figure, exhibitionist and masochist. Only the latter sees houses toppling and corpses carried out. "No one's afraid but me," he shudders. But those subjective fears have been objectified by universal disasters. The bloody writing of the machine in "The Penal Colony" has become a prophecy, not merely of totalitarianism itself, but of its breakdown and aftermath. Hence Kafka's peculiar insight, conspiring with historical circumstance, has enabled him to voice a collective consciousness. His most fantastic tale, indeed his finest—"The Metamorphosis"—opens and closes by referring to dreams. Yet the nightmare to which it awakes is vivid and haunting because, like the nightmares of history, it expresses the reality-principle. Unlike the dreams of romantic poets, unlike the nostalgic fantasies of Heine, Kafka tells us: "*Es war kein Traum.*"

**Nor is it** a fairy tale when "The Bucket Rider," a hitherto uncollected sketch, deals with wartime shortages of coal. If the diaries suggest a commentary on the stories, the stories provide a devastating comment on our time. We recognize ourselves in Kafka's displaced persons, our own anxieties in their weaknesses. When we sympathize with Dickens' characters, we may indulge in sentimentality; but when we pity Kafka's, we give way to self-pity. Unlike Balzac, who boasted that he could break through every obstacle, Kafka complained that everything broke through him. But we cannot blame him, except as a sort of sacrificial gesture for getting rid of our sins by dispatching a scapegoat into the wilderness. The man whose vocation is suffering, "The Hunger Artist," is one of his most sympathetic roles. When he noted an artist's request that he pose as St. Sebastian, he placed himself in the niche of the intercessor whose naked body is riddled with arrows intended for others.

HARRY LEVIN

## FICTION PARADE

THE MAN WHO INVENTED SIN, by Sean O'Faolain (The Devin-Adair Company; $2.75).

THE LION TAMER, by Bryan MacMahan (E. P. Dutton; $2.75).

*The Man Who Invented Sin* is a collection of fifteen stories chosen by the author "as his best." *The Lion Tamer* is the first volume by a young Irish writer, who has been received enthusiastically in his own country. Both volumes are written with a deep, even uncritical, attachment to Ireland as a place, and an easy identification with the characters in the stories—country people or the middle classes of the towns, and the priests and nuns who form such a conspicuous part of the population.

This affection is as strong as anything else in O'Faolain's stories. It is felt as an at-homeness which is the basis of his masterly sense of *place*. "The Silence of the Valley," which I would choose as the best story in the volume, is that first of all: a communication of the countryside where a group of people have come for a holiday. This group is well done—a keen first impression of an arbitrary combination of people in the superficial intimacy of a little country hotel. Nothing happens: they drink and talk in the bar; they go fishing; they attend a country wake. But the country is very much *there*; we sense it visually at first, figures moving in a landscape, under changing light, then aurally, through the country sounds that actually form the "silence." What the reader feels is a complex emotion: the peace and beauty of the natural world and at the same time a melancholy for inevitable human wrong and loss.

This emotion is achieved again in a very different story, "Innocence." A father watches his young son prepare for his first Confession, and realizes, by reflecting on his own life, that the boy is learning in all innocence the formulas of guilt. At the moment he is only "playing a fable of—'Father, I told lies. . . . Father, I forgot to say my morning prayers. . . . Father, I called my daddy a Pig'," but he is preparing for the day when he will suddenly understand the application of certain meaningless words to his own life, "and I know the fear that will come over him on that day—and I cannot prevent it."

These and several other stories are so good that it doesn't take much from the book to admit that it is uneven. Lesser pieces are smooth and professional stories, written with a rather obvious manipulation of effects and less than full concern or conviction.

**In the case** of Bryan MacMahon's stories, on the other hand, the reservations must control the enthusiasm. There is an uncertainty of direction: in almost any story a good beginning is followed by a slackening which tries to recover itself by a faked intensity and fellow feeling, and ends on some such arbitrary exclamation as "the joy and grandeur of it all." This uncertainty is betrayed also in a shifting of tone, by turns a forced emphasis, or an arch or whimsical note, or a patch of overblown rhetoric. Whatever their purpose, such lines as the following are likely to make a reader uncomfortable: "Oh, but it's a dreadful thing to see a blind man and he in his anger." Or: "The laughter common to our blood lay between us like a red carpet with a rich pile." Or: "I twinkled with miniature happiness."

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A variation on this is the professional Irishness that suddenly thickens its brogue and produces a tear in one eye while watching you from the other.

But these uncertainties are not unexpected in a first book and are of the sort a writer avoids through a better understanding of his talent. There is much in these stories to suggest that that talent is not inconsiderable. JOHN FARRELLY

### Crime and Punishment

*The Three Fears*, by Jonathan Stagge (Crime Club; $2). The feud between America's First Ladies of the Theatre comes to a boil in a quiet Connecticut shore resort when a sycophant of one is murdered during the Mookow Milk radio program of the other. Although the action then becomes frantic, the verbal interchanges and shenanigans of the stars overshadow the law's efforts and provide hilarious and stylish entertainment.

*The Judas Cat*, by Dorothy Salisbury Davis (Scribner's; $2.50). A Middle Western town's hermit, aged 90-odd, dies in mysterious circumstances, and, had not a young newspaper editor and the chief of police persevered against every obstacle a political machine backed by the local industrialist could erect, the famous inventor's death would have been set down as due to natural causes. Mrs. Davis knows small towns; she also knows how to tell a story

*Give Up the Ghost*, by Margaret Erskine (Crime Club; $2). The able author of *I Knew MacBean* gives us another skillful puzzle in the problem that faced the police force of Camborough. Some fiend is waging an all-out operation on carefully selected old people in this little town, and it takes Scotland Yard's best efforts to plumb the motive and lay the malefactor by the heels.

*Trouble in Triplicate*, by Rex Stout (Viking; $2.50), and *Duet of Death*, by Hilda Lawrence (Simon and Schuster; $2). Nero Wolfe and Archie have never been in better form than they show in these three novelettes. Exciting action, interesting characters and lively dialogue furnish an evening of solid pleasure. Miss Lawrence, on the other hand, seems to have made a trip to that trunk in the attic—attics, by the way, play a top-heavy role in her two short novels—for you'd never recognize the author of *The Pavilion* in the present job. Amateurish and implausible plots, an almost total lack of characterization and a general air of feverish witlessness produce a major disappointment. E. H.

## ON THE AIR: Talk, Talk, Talk

AFTER DEVOTING three solid weeks to the study of some dozen and a half television chit-chat sessions, I'm ready to settle for smoke signals. Maybe I'm bitter because I had to give up Carmen Miranda one Tuesday night when she was scheduled to dance on an NBC-TV program I was watching. Promptly at 8:30, and some minutes before I could see her, I switched to ABC-TV. I traded Milton Berle for a much less funny master of ceremonies, George W. Denny Jr., presiding over "America's Town Meeting."

In compensation for Miss Miranda, "Town Meeting" offered a quartet of earnest men discussing a serious topic with suitable weight. There is little doubt that they sounded impressive enough on radio. On television, they lacked exactly what the Berle program had—action. Many of television's Kaffee klatsches are in this "Town Meeting" category: radio programs photographed. On these gabfests the home viewer gets the uncomfortable feeling of having crashed a private party.

A few directors trouble to stage their television seances separate and distinct from the ones performed for the radio audience. In this group are NBC's "The Author Meets the

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Critics," Mutual's "Meet the Press" (which is on NBC's television network because Mutual is not yet in that end of the business) and CBS's "People's Platform." The men in charge show good intentions, but the additional investment—in time, money and work—is wasted. It could be salvaged only by imagination (plus, perhaps, a higher budget).

"The Author Meets the Critics" will serve as an excellent example because it is a very good program when heard over NBC's local New York radio facilities (Sundays at 1:30). The format is simple but effective. John K. M. McCaffrey acts as moderator; the author of a new book is in the studio and a pair of critics argue about his work. Sometimes a lot of heat is generated between the two critics, or between the author and the spokesman who is out to deride the subject's intelligence, artistry and home life. It's exactly what a book program should be.

I tuned in on "The Author Meets the Critics" twice on Sunday. In the afternoon, on radio, Ira A. Hirschmann's *The Embers Still Burn* was attacked by Mrs. Samuel Barlow, defended by Walter Duranty, and justified by Hirschmann himself. Throughout, McCaffrey—expert that he is—kept the half-hour alive. There have been more violent trials, but this one had sufficient interest—as radio.

That evening, the same author was put on the pan before the same moderator. Now they were before television. The opponents this time were Arthur Gaeth, a highly competent radio commentator, and Norman Thomas, who made up for Mrs. Barlow's mildness by showing a readiness to sink his teeth into Hirschmann. I am sure that on radio this team would have been considerably livelier than the group actually presented that afternoon. But before the cameras, they were lost. They sat, and they talked. In the beginning, it is true, there were some film clips to illustrate the subject matter of the book (it deals principally with conditions in European DP camps). But when the brief movie footage had been run, one could look at McCaffrey reading too often from a script, or at Thomas waving his hands, or at Gaeth sitting, or at Hirschmann sitting on a hot stone. The Maxwell House commercials had what the rest of the program lacked—television production.

I stayed tuned to NBC-TV and got "Meet the Press." The cast this time was composed of six people—a moderator, the visiting fireman (a British labor leader) and four representatives of the press out to embarrass the volunteer victim. The observer at home saw four newspapermen lined up in straight-backed chairs, for all the world like crows on a fence. Again, the honors for television knowhow went to the sponsor: Jello seemed much more appetizing than the sextet.

**In still a third category** of television conversation pieces is DuMont's "Court of Current Issues," a full-hour forum put on Mondays at 10. It comes closer to using television than any I have seen, though here, too, little would be lost if the audience were blindfolded. It is at least momentarily interesting that the moderator is gowned as a judge presiding over a real trial; that the disputants are "attorneys" and follow a certain amount of court routine. There is also a live "jury" which actually takes a vote on the issue discussed and presents a verdict.

The best of all the video talk shows, done with so much understanding of the medium that it would be almost valueless if it used sound alone, is "The Nature of Things." You may see it on NBC-TV (the time and night have been changed too often to make definite listing possible). Dr. Roy K. Marshall, of Philadelphia, lectures easily, authoritatively but without condescension, on science. He illustrates his points with imagination but without sensationalism. I'll have to go into this one in greater detail another time because Dr. Marshall's program falls into the educational classification, and his technique will highlight the clumsiness of an educational program originating at Johns Hopkins or the awkward manner in which the University of Chicago attempts to improve us.

As noted here before, television learns rapidly, and it may be that, by the time I get around to an analysis of educational television, improvements will have been made. Meanwhile, stick to DuMont's "Court" and Dr. Marshall's lively classroom for painless pedantry. Or did you ever consider reading a book? SAUL CARSON

## THEATRE: Footlight Chat No. 1

THE EVENTS of the past week have been disheartening. "The Shop at Sly Corner," an English murder thriller, closed after seven performances. "Leaf and Bough," a kind of Sherwood Anderson-Zona Gale-Eugene O'Neill play of the Middle West by a new writer, Joseph Hayes, closed after three performances. The reports on the new revue, "All for Love," were so dismal that I haven't yet summoned up enough courage to go to it.

The results of these productions were so negative that there would be little point in investigating the causes for their failure. Yet it is remarkable that the English play was a hit in London, and that the American play not only won a prize in an important contest but was done with impressive effect by Margo Jones in Dallas, Texas. Would it be unkind to point out that the direction of the thriller as done here was hopelessly amateurish and that Hayes's effort was practically invisible in the inept production given it at the Cort?

I say this not to blame anyone, since these plays were probably foredoomed on Broadway anyway, but because they bring up the question of acting and direction about which I promised my readers a series of general articles. This is as good a time as any to begin . . .

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When that hideously named creature John Q. Public goes to the theatre, what he goes to see is a *show*. He may sometimes say he's going to see the Lunts or Ethel Barrymore or a play by Eugene O'Neill or Tennessee Williams, but most often he speaks only of seeing a show. In his innocence, John Q. Public is right. He is intuitively and traditionally closer to the truth of the theatre than the more sophisticated playgoer who differentiates among the various elements that constitute a show.

**In the beginning,** whether the drama was a communal festivity, a religious ritual, public education or a group sport, very little distinction was made among what we would call a "play," the performers and the scenery. They were all organic products of a common impulse that gave the whole occasion a single identity and meaning. Because of the specialization and dismemberment into disparate parts that characterize modern civilization, the theatre is generally organized on an additive basis: we have a promoter, plus a play, plus a director, plus actors, plus a theatre-owner, etc., all of whom present themselves on an independent and almost competitive plane. This does not alter the fact that we see them as a unit. Only by a studied effort can we isolate one from another.

If you look at theatre programs of the period before 1915, you will notice that directors and set designers were rarely mentioned. At a somewhat earlier time, most playwrights were less well-known and certainly less honored than actors.

The theatre—despite our custom of the moment—is not an art in which one element must of necessity take precedence over the others. Shakespeare between covers is always Shakespeare, but Shakespeare on the stage is frequently less valuable than a show based on the work of a writer incomparably inferior. On the stage we do not see Shakespeare's Hamlet or his Cleopatra, but Maurice Evans and Katharine Cornell—and these bring a new substance before us as real as anything that has been written for them to say. If this is not true, there can be no art of the theatre.

My argument is not new; it is something of which we need to be constantly reminded. It would be perfectly sound to discuss a play naïvely as a "show," a performed story, without special reference to its writing, individual acting, direction, settings, etc. Such a discussion would truly relate to what we experience and might thus prove an esthetically valid, because integrated, reaction. In such a discussion one might point out whatever affected him most: the plot, the spoken word, the mood engendered by the background, the beauty of a particular actor's voice or behavior. If it is too late now for us to return to such primitive honesty, if we must continue with criticism in terms of "departments," it behooves us to make ourselves as sensitive to and studious of every phase of the theatre—acting, direction, etc. —as we have supposedly become about its literary aspect.

**Among professional** theatregoers (including reviewers), many of whom may be discriminating about the literary value of a play, there exists today only the most rudimentary appreciation of purely theatrical matters. Whereas the layman frequently recognizes his ignorance of the graphic arts or of music, ordinary playgoers as well as many of the theatre's professional judges are ignorant of their ignorance. As a result not only our criticism suffers but also the practice of the art itself. Acting, direction, scene design, etc., have fallen below the standard of former years because, for one thing, our approach to them has become casual, superficial, mechanical and desultory. Very few of us, for example, venture to describe more than two or three plays a season as "superb" or "great," but such epithets in regard to acting are not at all uncommon. In my opinion, however, our better plays are generally superior to our best acting and production. We must try to seek further for the reasons. HAROLD CLURMAN


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# MOVIES: Wide Blue Yonder

THE SCREEN VERSION of "Command Decision" is such a faithful representation of the original play by William Wister Haines that a stunned nation is now beholding Clark Gable, Walter Pidgeon, Van Johnson, Brian Donlevy, Charles Bickford, John Hodiak, Edward Arnold and a baker's dozen of lesser males unleavened by a single woman—not even the photograph of a pinup girl or a soprano voice on the telephone.

But the RKO writers, Laidlaw and Froeschel, were wise to hold to Haines's line, for there is small doubt that he wrote the play with the screen in mind and no doubt at all that he judged precisely the kind of material at which Hollywood excels. The paraphernalia of danger—oil derricks, Newfoundland Banks schooners, high-tension wires, tunnel caissons, bridge trestles, B-17's—have always been props the movies handle superbly. With such material, they can make a momentarily compelling picture out of the most trivial plot.

"Command Decision" is a great deal better than that. It stages a battle of wills between a fighter (Gable) who heads directly for the essential goal and a trimmer (Pidgeon) who is paralyzed by the predictable consequences of an irrevocable act. Shall the squadron bomb the vital target and face home indignation at the high cost or shall it make a milk run over the Channel Ports and satisfy the visiting firemen? Against a background of blazing planes and dying boys this question provides tremendous conflict.

The entire cast handles its military assignment with quiet understanding. Gable is splendid in the critical role and yet not as good as was Paul Kelly in the same part on the stage. The reason is that they both interpret exactly how a particular kind of man would behave in the specific dilemma, but the man Kelly chose to represent was the more complicated, more susceptible, more interesting. Still, Gable has one scene, in which he "talks" a wounded plane down from the sky, that Kelly had no opportunity to do on the stage. It is a fine piece of work, the sort of thing an actor cannot learn by rote. He either does it instinctively or leaves it entirely alone.

So much for "Command Decision" as a first-class melodrama. For historians and congressmen discussing military appropriations, it should be noted that the film is also propaganda and that it operates on two assumptions. The first of these is that the balance of the war once rested on the destruction of three German factories, which was never so; the second is that the largest possible air force is a good thing, and that is certainly dubious. For writing his play, the Air Force should make Haines an honorary colonel: he does a lot to obliterate the doleful statistics of the Strategic Bombing Survey. On the other hand, the infantry, the tank corps, the OSS and the Red Army, to mention only a few, might want to hold him for court-martial. Wars today, unhappily for neat literary workmen, don't rest on the single decision of a single man—a thought that could have saved Messrs. Kelly and Gable a lot of sleep.

**It is no good** being indulgent with the movies—give them enough rope and they go off and lynch someone. "Mine Own Executioner" has us back on the analyst's couch and this time it's no joking matter.

Without taking the position that any particular line of work should be immune from the extravagant ignorance of the movie makers, one can still protest against Sir Alexander Korda's jaundiced view of psychoanalysis. In earlier film discussions of the subject, the "brain doctors" were endowed with an easy infallibility; Korda's hero plunges in with a blithe lack of competence and a shocking disregard for consequences. Every graveyard is evidence of medical fallibility and

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writers have long since taken note of the fact, but psychoanalysis is still hampered by ignorance and fear and it is too bad it has to contend with such mischievous distortion as this.

The first blow "Mine Own Executioner" struck against the Freudians was to cast Burgess Meredith as the healer. Meredith's stock in trade is insouciance, a kind of "live today, for tomorrow we graduate" bravado that does not inspire medical confidence. To make it worse, his present role pictures him as a man who is in serious need of analysis himself. He suffers from manic depression, sadism, incipient satyriasis, a pipe fetish and a terror of heights—obviously a sick man unfit to treat the nervously disturbed.

Into the consultation room of this Felix Milne comes a bride whose husband has just attempted to strangle her. Milne realizes from her story that the man is a dangerous schizophrenic (what the newspapers, unscientifically but at least with an appreciation of results, call a "mad killer"). Milne "wonders" if he has enough experience to take on the case. Since he is a lay analyst, with only slight medical background, and since competent practitioners call an ambulance as soon as such a patient walks in, Milne's decision to "help" the man is a bit irritating and the ensuing murder-suicide is hardly surprising.

Is this film, then, an exposure of the dangers of lay analysis? It is not, for the coroner who seeks to question Milne on his qualifications is made to seem a senile general practitioner bent on discrediting any therapy more modern than cupping, and a Harley Street expert takes the stand to say that he thoroughly approves *Mister* Milne's handling of the case. Regrettable, of course, but nothing better could have been done in the circumstances. For this irresponsible evidence, the witness should at least lose his license to practise.

At one point, Meredith-Milne climbs a ladder to consult with his patient teetering on a cornice twelve floors above the street and waving an automatic about in his hand. Analysts, it must be pointed out, don't perform the work of a fire rescue squad in the course of their professional duties; they have no call to, for they don't treat crazy people and they aren't crazy themselves.

**Along comes a picture** with an unappetizing title, "A Letter to Three Wives," and it is clear that wit is what we have been lacking all this time. This highly contrived, chrome-plated domestic comedy, written and directed by Joseph Mankiewicz for 20th Century-Fox, is most uneven, but when it hits top form it sparkles with vernacular.

You are to suppose that three ladies of the Hudson Valley country club set have received a farewell note from the neighborhood Lilith, announcing that she has made off with one of their husbands but failing out of malice to identify him. This unlikely situation nevertheless gives each wife an occasion for taking a marital inventory and the three resultant flashbacks are the meat of the comedy.

The couples are Jeanne Crain and Jeffrey Lynn, Ann Sothern and Kirk Douglas, and Linda Darnell and Paul Douglas. The first two pairs seem a little uneasy at Mankiewicz's insistence on adult behavior, and their stories stutter and drag a bit despite some acute observation and an occasional fine crack at the status quo.

Linda Darnell and Paul Douglas quite easily steal the show. They are a couple not born to Westchester. They fight their way into the golden suburbs—he by building a chain of houseware stores, she by making a marriage license part of her price. Their relationship (pre- and post-marital) is social satire, a form of comment Hollywood seemed to have abandoned entirely. Douglas is magnificent in his surly and shamefaced success and some of Miss Darnell's maneuvers are true enough to be shocking. At the very end their performances are thrown away to provide one of those damp endings which send the audience home sniveling happily. It would be a good idea to leave early, but then you wouldn't learn which husband it was. ROBERT HATCH


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